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
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RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF HAREMHAB





of the cudgel suggests that it resembled in shape those carried by other officials in the relief. Another feature peculiar to the Colville fragment is the remarkably pensive expression on the face of the official, while his opposite number in the Bologna relief seems lifeless by comparison. The closer attention to modelling displayed in the Colville fragment is also visible in the case of the official's garment, which is far more delicately executed than that of any of the four officials in the Bologna relief. Possibly the most important difference is the excessive prolongation of the outside shoulders of the two negroes in the Colville fragment, a feature which has no parallel in the Bologna relief, though it is necessary to bear in mind that this difference may be in part accounted for by the fact that space was more plentiful in the former than in the latter, where a group of nine figures are closely bunched together. The possibility, however, that the two pieces, though based on a common pattern, were executed by different artists cannot be excluded.

Very faint traces of paint are still visible: black on the official's wig and red on his face and body; the faces of the negroes are black and their lips are red. The fragment has been broken into three pieces, which have now been joined.

## EGYPTIAN SEAGOING SHIPS

By R. O. FAULKNER

It is quite a common assumption among scholars that the Ancient Egyptians were no soldiers and no sailors. With their military achievements I hope to deal at greater length elsewhere, but when the records are studied it seems impossible to maintain the view that they were poor sailors. In Egypt before the coming of the railway the river Nile was virtually the only channel of communication throughout the country, so that from the earliest times the Egyptians must have been accustomed to the use of boats. It is in fact possible to trace in broad outlines the gradual development of river craft from the primitive reed raft on which men paddled across the river or cast their nets<sup>1</sup> via the canoe likewise constructed of reeds<sup>2</sup> and the many-oared cabined galley of the later prehistoric period<sup>3</sup> to the sumptuous vice-regal state *dahabeeyah* of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with its highly decorated hull and cabin and even stalls for horses.<sup>4</sup> It is but natural that a people so well accustomed to the construction and use of boats on the river at home should take to the sea when trade or war with distant peoples rendered that a convenient mode of travel, especially after the invention of the sail came to increase speed and to lessen the physical labour of rowing over long distances; and the Egyptians seem to have gone down to the sea in ships at quite an early date.

It is possible that even in the prehistoric period traders and fishermen were making coastal voyages, but of this there is no evidence. It is clear, however, that by the Third Dynasty a certain amount of overseas traffic had grown up, for in the reign of Snofru the building of a ship of 100 cubits, *i.e.* about 170 feet long, is recorded on the Palermo Stone,<sup>5</sup> and a vessel of this size must have been intended for the sea; the same source speaks of other ships 40 and 60 cubits long. Furthermore, the communications with the Egyptian colony at Byblos, which already existed in the Old Kingdom, were certainly maintained by sea, since an early term for a seagoing ship is *kbnt* 'Byblos-boat'; this is shown by the context to mean not a vessel actually bound for Byblos, but a ship of the type normally employed on the Byblos run.<sup>6</sup> In the Fifth Dynasty we find King Sahurê for the first time in history making use of sea-power to transport his troops to the Syrian coast,<sup>7</sup> and his example was followed in the Sixth Dynasty by the commander Weni, who conveyed his troops to Carmel(?) in *nmlw* or 'travel-ships'.<sup>8</sup> Ships could of course go direct from the Nile to the Syrian coast, but in the Old Kingdom there was no communication by water between the Nile and the Red Sea, so that travellers to Pwēnet went overland via the Wadi Hammamat to the coast near Kosseir and there built their ship for the Red Sea voyage.<sup>9</sup> During the confusion of the First Intermediate Period overseas traffic must have been almost at a standstill, but with the re-establishment of law and order the old relations with Pwēnet<sup>10</sup> and with Byblos<sup>11</sup> were renewed, while this period has also given the world its first tale of

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 4, 174, 255; 17, 53.<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 10, 46.<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* *JEA* 14, 263-4, Figs. 2 and 3.<sup>4</sup> Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, Pl. 12.<sup>5</sup> *Recto* 6, 3.<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* I, 134, 15; the ship is being built for the voyage to Pwēnet.<sup>7</sup> Borchardt, *Sahû-ret*, II, Pls. 11-12.<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* I, 104.<sup>9</sup> See n. 6 above.<sup>10</sup> Breasted, *History*, 153; 182-3.<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* the objects from Egypt published in Montet, *Byblos et Égypte*, Pls. 88-91.

adventure at sea in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. When we come to the New Kingdom we find overseas voyages becoming almost a commonplace. Queen Hatshepsut seems to have started the ball rolling with her famous expedition to Pwēnet; Tuthmosis III establishes military bases at the principal Syrian harbours to which troops were transported by sea,<sup>1</sup> and by virtue of his sea-power exercises a kind of loose authority over some at least of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean;<sup>2</sup> Egyptian merchant ships trade to Syrian harbours, and Syrians bring rich cargoes to Egypt;<sup>3</sup> Amenophis III organizes a naval police force to protect the coast from piratical raids;<sup>4</sup> Ramesses III fights a victorious naval battle, and even in the period of decline Wenamūn sails to Syria to buy timber for the sacred bark of Amūn. In view of this long history of seafaring the gibe that the Egyptians were no sailors is devoid of justification.

It is with Egyptian ships, however, rather than with Egyptian sailors, that the present paper is concerned. The first vessels which ventured out from the shelter of Egyptian harbours on to the open sea were doubtless boats of the same type as had long been used on the river, but craft which had been adequate for smooth river waters soon proved unable to cope with rough weather at sea without some adaptation, especially as the size of ships increased. Modern craft, down to the smallest dinghy, are built on a foundation of a keel which gives longitudinal rigidity, from which spring 'frames' or ribs at close intervals which give ample support to the sides when in their turn they are strengthened by rowing-thwarts or strong deck-beams which interlock on the frames. Egyptian ships had no keel, but consisted of a shell of planking with light ribs at comparatively wide intervals, while the thwarts or deck-beams did not interlock on the ribs in the modern manner, but were secured direct to the planking of the hull. This system of construction can be well seen in the 30-foot river-barge of Sesostris III now in the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago.<sup>5</sup> Seagoing ships of great length were doubtless more strongly built, but the main principles were the same. It will easily be realized that such a keelless technique was ill adapted to meet the strains imposed by heavy or even moderate weather at sea, and to make its deficiencies good the devices of the girt-rope and the hogging-truss were invented; these can be clearly seen in the Plates accompanying this article, and when observed in an Egyptian relief or painting are a sure indication that the ship in question was a seagoing craft. The girt-ropes, of which there was one forward and one aft, were heavy cables passed right round the hull at bow and stern, primarily to provide a secure anchorage for the hogging-truss. This latter, which may be considered a substitute for the keel, was a stout cable which, fastened at either end to the girts, passed fore and aft over crutches practically the whole length of the ship and was maintained at considerable tension. As the long hull, unsupported by a keel, pitched in a heavy sea, there would be a considerable risk of the ship 'hogging' and breaking her back owing to the forward or after portion of the hull falling away of its own weight as it rose out of the water. This tendency was counteracted by the upward pull of the taut hogging-truss, which, by being attached to the girts, maintained the tension on them also and thus checked any tendency to lateral spread at bow or stern.

It has already been mentioned that ships 170 feet long were being built as early as the Third Dynasty, but the oldest representation of seagoing ships that has survived is found among the sculptures of the pyramid-temple of King Saḥurē of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Plates II and III show three views of a model of one of these ships under sail built by Mr. V. O. Lawson,

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 305.

<sup>3</sup> Erman and Ranke, *Aegypten*, Pl. 40, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, 338.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, fig. 82, facing p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, *loc. cit.*; see also the photograph in Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 189.

who himself undertook the necessary researches, though doubtful points were thrashed out in discussion with my friend Mr. A. J. C. R. Goodall and myself.<sup>1</sup> This is in fact the earliest seagoing ship of which we have any detailed knowledge not only from Egypt but from any part of the world, so that her design and rig are of especial interest. The main source of information was of course the plates of Borchardt's publication of the temple, but where this failed in respect of details of rig, recourse was had to Mrs. Davies' copy of the sailing-boat in the tomb of Kaemcankh at Giza<sup>2</sup> and to the Lisht fragment mentioned below, though a few details have been obtained elsewhere. The construction of the hull was probably very much on the lines described above.<sup>3</sup> Its extreme shallowness betrays the descent of this ship from her riverine ancestor, and the troops and crew on board must have slept on deck;<sup>4</sup> her canoe-like lines are admirably designed to give the minimum of resistance to the water, and in favourable conditions she probably travelled fairly fast, though in heavy weather she must have been rather uncomfortable. Plates II and III show clearly the hogging-truss with

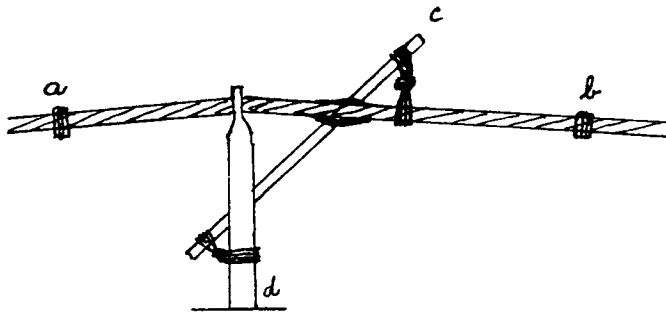


FIG. 1. Device for tautening hogging-truss on Fifth Dynasty Ship.  
a, b. Seizings on truss. c. Tensioning lever. d. 'Midships crutch.

its tensioning lever secured to the 'midships crutch, tension being obtained by twisting. In this ship the hogging-truss consisted of parallel strands of rope seized together at intervals, and was not 'laid' after the manner of a cable; Fig. 1 shows the method of obtaining the necessary tension. The tensioning lever *c* was thrust through the strands and turned until the truss was twisted to the requisite degree of tautness, the effect of the twisting being localized by the seizings on the truss at *a* and *b* and elsewhere along its length, so that the truss turned as a solid whole; the effectiveness of the system can be easily tested with the aid of two rigid uprights and a length of string. To prevent it from untwisting, the lever was lashed at one end to the truss itself and at the other to the 'midships crutch *d*. The forward girt-rope can be seen secured to a heavy wooden bar across the foredeck; the after girt-rope seems to have been secured *below* the poop-deck, probably to keep the great securing-bar out of the way of the feet of the helmsmen. The purpose of the lacing round the hull at deck level is not quite certain, but most likely was intended to give additional rigidity to the hull by lacing it to the deck the whole way round the ship.<sup>5</sup> This explanation is supported

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mr. Lawson for permission to publish the photographs of his models. Mr. Goodall and he have both read this paper in manuscript and have made valuable criticisms and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. N. de G. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, Pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In the photograph published by Capart, *loc. cit.*, the run of the planking can be seen on the foremost ship in the middle register.

<sup>4</sup> Egyptian seagoing ships had no deck-houses; the cabins seen on Nile boats were not of a type suitable for the open sea.

<sup>5</sup> See also the stone-barge in Erman and Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 578, where the lacing is apparently intended to assist in taking the weight of the cargo. This feature is not seen in contemporary sailing craft for river use.

by the fact that the lacing also passes under the ship at the girts, as if the outer skin of the hull were laced to heavy interior planking designed to take the strain of the upward pull of the hogging-truss; it is also laced at stem and stern, where obviously additional strength is desirable. There are short half-decks fore and aft, the aft or poop-deck being railed in for the protection of the captain and helmsmen. The foredeck was used probably only in shallow waters by the 'leadsman' with his sounding-pole and for mooring purposes; the vases in the bow, which can be seen on one of the Saḥurē ships,<sup>1</sup> would hardly remain there when the vessel put to sea, as the first roll would send them overboard.

The mast is a bipod structure strengthened at intervals by crosspieces. It was stepped 'thwartships and when the ship was not under sail was lowered on to the gallows which is seen just forward of the poop. Some students of ancient ships, deceived by the conventions of Egyptian art, have thought that these bipod masts were stepped fore and aft, but this view is contradicted not only by practical considerations but also by the fact that an Old Kingdom model from Meir is known with the bipod mast stepped 'thwartships.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the peculiar curve of the masthead is not known. When stepped, the mast was maintained in position by stays fore and aft, and by tackles of twisted rope under heavy tension at the foot. This last device was necessary to prevent the mast from lifting under the pressure of the wind in the sail;<sup>3</sup> in the case of a mast which was permanently fixed in place this consideration would not arise. The sail, taller than it was broad, was hoisted on a single yard made in one piece and was trimmed to the wind by braces which led aft from the ends of the yard. Since the sail was loose-footed,<sup>4</sup> it would tend to draw in at the lower corners and bag under the pressure of the wind and so lose efficiency. To counteract this in the larger ships two light forked spars were employed, one on either side of the sail. Their butts were secured to the deck probably near the foot of the mast, their forked ends were inserted into eyelets in the leeches of the sail, and their shafts passed outside the forestays to prevent them from swinging inward; it was thus possible to maintain reasonable flatness across the sail and so to present the maximum effective surface to the wind. A re-used block found at Lisht bears a fragment of an Old Kingdom relief showing this curious device in use,<sup>5</sup> and in the scenes from the temple of Saḥurē these spars can be seen lying in the bows of the ships. In this connexion I quote an extract from a letter from Mr. Lawson: 'The forked spar for spreading the leech of the sail is identical to the 'vargoord', a device used on coastal vessels in Elizabethan times, and I have seen an illustration of the same thing used on Scotch fishing-vessels of about 50 years ago. In these cases, however, there was only *one* spar used to extend the weather leech.'

A ship rigged with a single square-sail can only run with the wind fairly well aft; she cannot reach or tack, so that with a beam or head wind it is necessary for such a ship to lower her sail and to be propelled by oars. In such circumstances the heavy mast of the Saḥurē ship was lowered on to the gallows near the poop, as otherwise all that weight aloft without sail on it to steady the ship would give her a dangerous motion, with the result that the mast might rack itself adrift and crash overboard. The ship was steered by three large paddles, apparently on one side of the ship only, and these paddles were simply controlled direct by

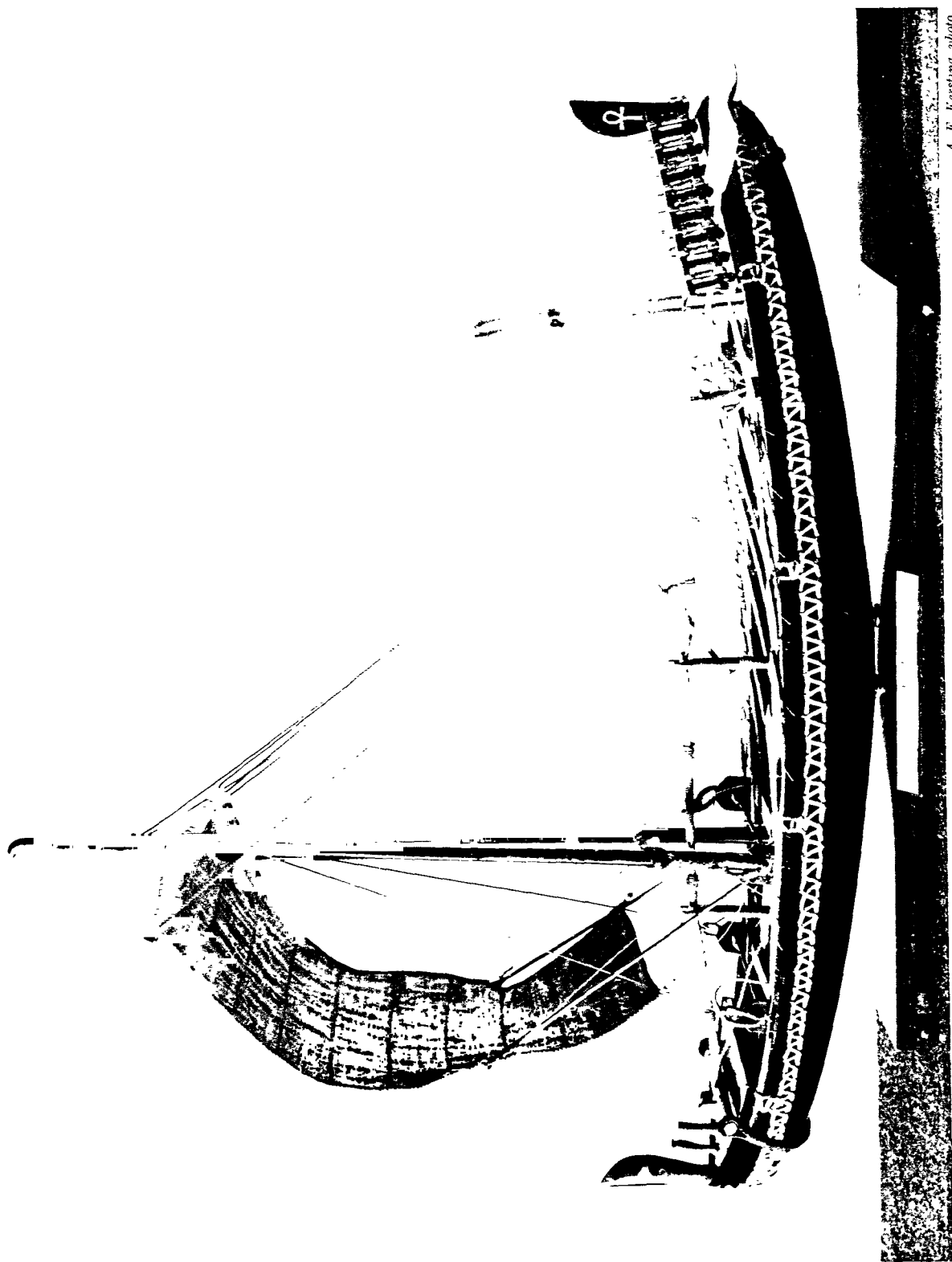
<sup>1</sup> Capart, *ibid.*, bottom right.

<sup>2</sup> Cairo 4882, in Reisner, *Model Ships and Boats*, Pl. 13. River craft with very similar bipod masts have survived into modern times on the Irrawady.

<sup>3</sup> Most clearly seen on a relief from the funerary chapel of King Wenis, cf. *The Daily Telegraph*, 26th May, 1938, though it occurs also on the Lisht fragment mentioned below.

<sup>4</sup> See the Lisht fragment; in the Sixth Dynasty a lower yard comes into use.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. MMA (Egn. Expdn.)*, 1921, p. 26, fig. 9.

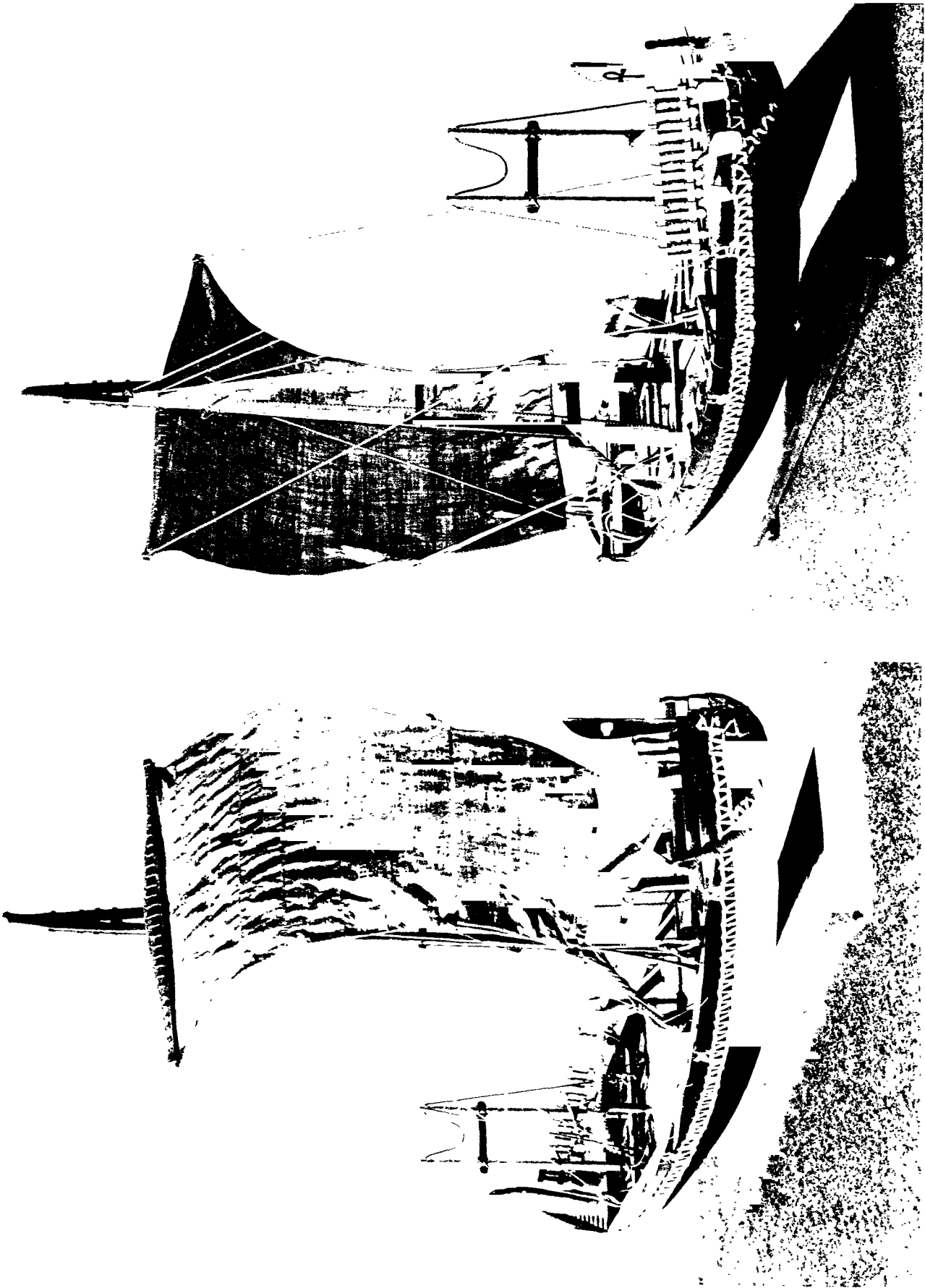


A. F. Kersting, photo.

MODEL OF A SEAGOING SHIP OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY



A. P. Kersting, photo.



MODEL OF A SEA GOING SHIP OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY





the helmsmen without any intervening gear of rudder-post or tiller. The stem-post bears the *oculi* which so often appear on early ships and which are still to be found on local craft in various parts of the world, while the stern-post very appropriately shows the 'sign of life', since it was here that there stood the life of the ship, the captain and helmsmen. Although this ship probably sailed well in fair weather, she gives the impression of being too shallow in the hull to be a good sea-boat, while the lacing along the sides would probably be liable to stretch and rack loose.

No pictures of seagoing ships have survived from the Middle Kingdom, but we learn certain details of their size and manning from the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. In this story the ship is described as being 120 cubits long and of 40 cubits beam, that is to say a really large ship, with a crew of 120 men.<sup>1</sup> This gives us a vessel constructed on a plan of three beams to a length, a proportion which gives considerable stability at sea, and which is still preferred to-day for small sailing cruisers up to about 6 tons; the standard scale of manning was apparently one person per cubit of length. From the models<sup>2</sup> and pictures<sup>3</sup> of river boats that have survived we learn of considerable improvements since the Fifth Dynasty, especially in the rig. The clumsy bipod mast has given way to the much more practical pole mast, which it was still the custom to unstep when not in use and to stow it on crutches.<sup>4</sup> The old loose-footed sail is now superseded by one with a lower yard as well as an upper, so that the sail is extended more rigidly, and the forked spars for extending the leeches have disappeared. The sail has also changed its shape; sometimes it is square and surprisingly small, but more often it is of considerable size and is wider than it is high, a decided improvement in a square-sail. The steering-gear has also been improved. The loom of the steering-paddle is now pivoted on a tall rudder-post and controlled by a long vertical tiller, while the paddle is secured to the hull by a lashing and a loose loop of rope which give it plenty of freedom of movement.<sup>5</sup> In most river boats of this period there was but a single steering-paddle fixed right on the stern, hinting at the way in which the true rudder ultimately developed. The genesis of these improvements in rig and steering-gear can be traced to the Sixth Dynasty, when we find sailing craft with pole masts (in one case a tripod mast!), a sail with two yards of which the upper has a most peculiar curvature, and either a single steering-paddle with short tiller and no rudder-post, or else one or two paddles mounted on rudder-posts but still with inconveniently short tillers;<sup>6</sup> the old rig with bipod mast, however, had not yet been entirely superseded,<sup>7</sup> and it is also found with the tall narrow sail set on two yards instead of one.<sup>8</sup>

When we come to the Eighteenth Dynasty and the ships which Queen Hatshepsut sent to Pwēnet we reach the highest point to which the Ancient Egyptian shipbuilder attained.<sup>9</sup> A model of a ship of this type, likewise from the hand of Mr. Lawson, is shown on Plate IV, and even a hasty comparison with the *Sahurē* ship will show the improvement. The hull is decidedly deeper, and its lines are admirable; in fact, as has been pointed out by Mr.

<sup>1</sup> l. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Reisner, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 14, 29; II, Pl. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Newberry, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 16; *El Bersheh*, I, Pl. 18; Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pl. 18. Note the peculiar rowlocks on the latter boat.

<sup>5</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 14, 29; occasionally, however, the helmsman squatted on a superstructure at the stern and steered with a short horizontal tiller, cf. *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, Pl. 10; II, Pl. 7; rudder-posts are also present in the ancient model referred to above, p. 6, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, Pls. 19, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, IV, Pl. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pls. 72-5. A model of a river boat of similar type was found in the tomb of Tutankhamūn, see vol. 3, Pl. lxiii of Carter's publication; compare also the state ship depicted in the tomb of Huy, above, p. 3, n. 4.

Keble Chatterton, they are comparable to those of modern racing craft. The lacing has disappeared, and the deck-beams now pass right through the skin of the hull and are secured on the outside of the ship;<sup>1</sup> this mode of construction naturally produced a stronger hull. To the forward end of the hull proper was attached a large stem-piece of solid wood, to which was secured one of the forestays. The sterns of these ships curve over inboard and end in an ornament which embodies the tradition of the primitive reed canoe; it consists of a bunch of papyrus-heads with their stems lashed together, though the papyrus-heads have been transformed by the passage of time into a lotus-flower. The girt-ropes and the hogging-truss persist, but, unlike that of the Saḥurē ship, the truss is now a true cable. The method of obtaining tension is also different from that in the earlier vessel; it is obscure in details, but the most probable interpretation is that shown by the diagram in Fig. 2. Starting from

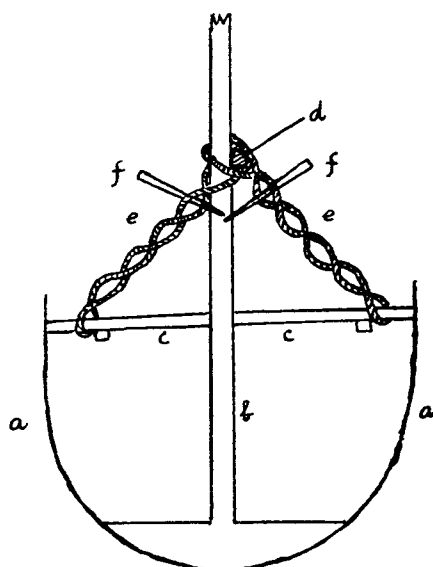


FIG. 2. Probable method of tautening hogging-truss on Dēr el Bahri ships.

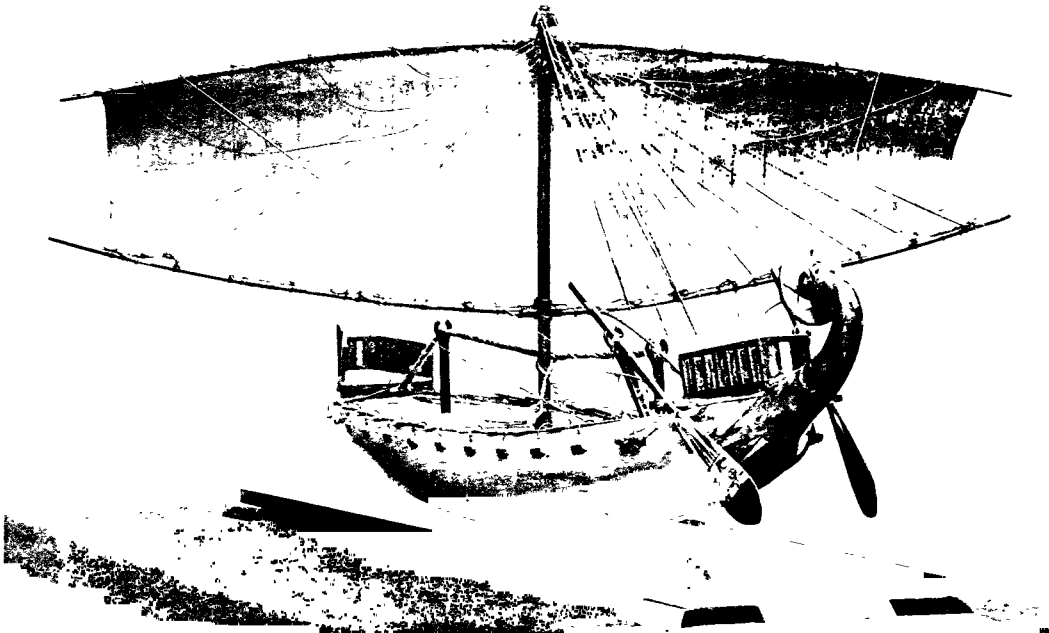
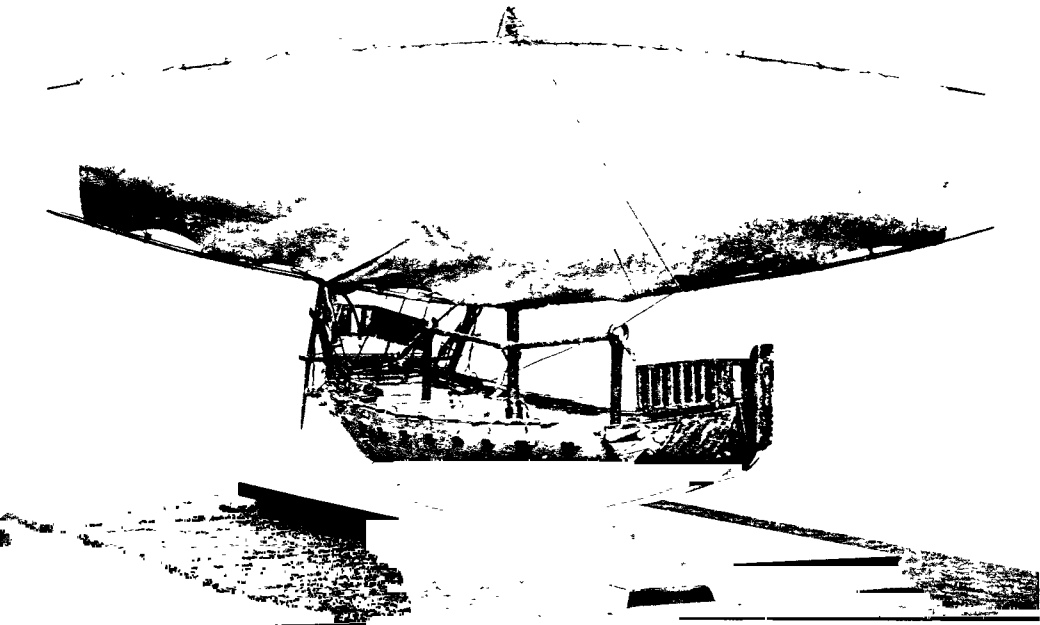
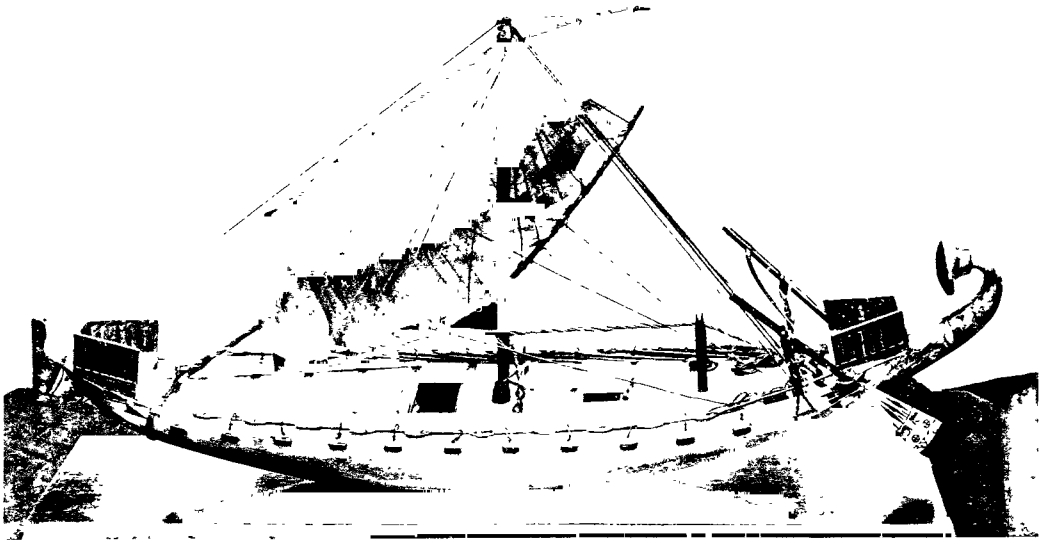
a. Section of hull. b. Mast. c. Thwart.  
d. Section of hogging-truss. e. Rope  
tackles. f. Tensioning levers.

the girt at the bow, the truss passed through the forward crutch, lay against the mast, and thence passed through the after crutch to the stern girt, the 'midships crutch of the Fifth Dynasty ships having been displaced by the mast itself. Two tackles of twisted rope (Fig. 2, e, e) passed right round both mast and truss (at d) at their upper ends, and probably round a thwart (c, c) at their lower ends. On being twisted with the levers f, f, the increased tension in the tackles would drag the hogging-truss down the mast and thus tauten it to the required degree.

The rig of these ships shows a decided advance since the Twelfth Dynasty. The pole mast is stepped exactly amidships and is a fixture, while the two slender yards are of such enormous length—nearly as long as the ship itself—that they are made in two pieces and 'fished' together at the middle. The sail that was set upon these yards is of normal height but extraordinarily wide, and in suitable weather these ships must have been really fast. The mast which had to carry this enormous sail was heavily stayed, and the sail itself was trimmed by braces leading from both yards which doubtless also served as

preventer backstays. The peculiar cage-like structure at the masthead, which never seems to have been quite understood by the ancient artists, was apparently a metal cap or sheath with flanges bearing eye-holes through which passed both the standing and the running rigging; sail was hoisted on the upper yard only, the lower remaining in place. The great steering-paddles, one on either quarter, passed through a vertical crutch to which they were secured not only by a plain lashing but also by a tackle of rope passing over a stud on the outside of the hull, to which they were attached by a loop of stout rope or possibly leather; as in the Middle Kingdom they were operated by vertical tillers. Both fore- and poop-decks were slightly raised and were railed in; the oars employed when sail could not be set worked in rope loops by way of rowlocks. A certain amount of cargo was carried on deck, but doubtless a great deal more was stowed in the hold. We do not know if ballast was carried when the ship had no cargo aboard, but in view of the enormous spread of sail over a comparatively

<sup>1</sup> Clearly seen in Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. 73.



*A. F. Kersting, photo.*

MODEL OF A SEAGOING SHIP OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY



light hull it seems likely that such may have been used. The plates of Naville's publication of the Pwēnet voyage in *Deir el Bahari* show some interesting details of the working of these ships. Plate 73 depicts them approaching their destination. The oarsmen have taken over for the operation of working into harbour to moor, while the sailors are about to take in sail, since the rig of these ships would not permit them to manœuvre in confined quarters under sail-power. In Plate 72 a ship with sail furled is about to draw up at the shore, the officers in the bows shouting orders and the oarsmen backing water to check the ship's way. Apparently yet another vessel—the furthestmost in the picture—has already moored, as a light rowing-craft (a ship's boat?) has been loaded with trade-goods for the natives. In Plate 75 the ships are taking their departure. The oarsmen are rowing the ships out of harbour, while the sailors are just completing their task of setting sail for the homeward voyage. On the voyages to Pwēnet at this date there was no question as in the Old Kingdom of building ships on the shores of the Red Sea; the vessels started direct from Thebes and reached the Red Sea by a canal through the Wadi Tumilat.<sup>1</sup>

It finally remains to say a word about the Egyptian warships engaged in the great naval battle in the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> These are different from anything we have yet met, and foreign influence may be suspected. The hulls are long and low, but are provided with raised bulwarks or hoardings to protect the rowers; the fighting-men apparently stood on raised gangways. The bows end in lion figure-heads, and the stout masts are crowned with fighting-tops to which there is no obvious means of access. Contrary to previous practice, the sail was furled by hoisting its foot to the upper yard, which was secured just below the fighting-top; this arrangement was adopted presumably to keep the furled sail and its gear out of the way of the fighters and perhaps to deny a possible means of boarding to the enemy, all manœuvring while actually in action being by oar. The warships were apparently steered by a helmsman who sat on the edge of a square structure occupied by an archer; there was a similar erection in the bows which gave stance to one or sometimes two archers.<sup>3</sup> In some cases the ends of the deck-beams can be seen on the exterior of the hull, as in the Pwēnet ships, but the vessels are represented in a summary fashion, and the details of rigging and so forth which we find at Dēr el-Bahri are lacking here.

To sum up, it will be seen that while the basic design of the Egyptian ship remained unchanged, that is to say a more or less canoe-shaped hull rigged with a single square-sail, yet within those limits there was steady progress. The shallow and somewhat flimsy hull and comparatively clumsy rig of the Fifth Dynasty by the time of the Middle Kingdom had given way to greatly improved rig and steering-gear, and to the working out of a sound proportion of length to beam, while the shipwrights of the Eighteenth Dynasty could build as fast and seaworthy a craft of her type as it was possible to evolve; in fact, the deep keel of the modern sailing yacht apart, the body-lines of the ships which sailed to Pwēnet in Queen Ḥatshepsut's reign will bear comparison with those of a racing cutter of the present day.

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *History*, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu*, I, Pls. 37, 39, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the 'castles' at bow and stern of medieval European ships, whence the modern term 'forecastle'.

# THE TEXT OF THE *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA* AND THE THREE OTHER DECREES OF THE EMPEROR CARACALLA CONTAINED IN PAPYRUS GISSENSIS 40<sup>1</sup>

BY F. M. HEICHELHEIM

I INTEND to discuss in this article one of the most famous legal papyri ever found in Egypt, P. Giss. 40, which was first published by Professor Paul M. Meyer in fasc. 2 of vol. I of the papyri of Giessen in 1910.<sup>2</sup> This text is preserved in the library of the ancient University of Giessen in Hesse where I studied and was later appointed *Privatdozent*, and contains four official Roman texts, three edicts, and one epistle in excerpt, which were issued by the Emperor Caracalla from A.D. 212 to 215 and influenced strongly the legal position of the masses in the whole empire and especially of the Greek and native inhabitants of Egypt. The two columns of the papyrus should, in my view, be read and translated as follows:<sup>3</sup>

## Col. I

- [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλι[ος Σεουήρος] Ἀντωνίνου[ς] Σ[εβαστὸς] λέγει.* 60(18/42)  
[*Πάντως εἰς τὸ θεῖον χρ[ῆ] μᾶλλον ἀν[αφέρειν καὶ τὰ] αἰτίας κ[α]ὶ το[ύς] λ[ογισμῶν]σ[ι].* 62(18/44)
- [*Δικαίως δ' ἂν καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς τ[οῖς] ἀθ[αν]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τῇ[ς] τοιαύτῃ[ς]* 64(19/45)
- [*ἐπιβολῆς γενομένης σῶο]ν ἐμὲ συν[ετήρ]ησαν. Τοιγαροῦν νομίζω [ο]ὔτω με-* 57(20/37)  
5 [*γαλομερώς καὶ θεοπρεπ[ῶς] δύ[να]σθαι τῇ μεγαλει[ό]τητι αὐτῶν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποι-* 59(19/40)  
[*εῖν, εἰ τοσάκις μυρίους ὅσ[α]κις ἔαν ὑ[π]εισέθ[ω]σ[ιν] εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀν[θρ]ώπους* 61(21/40)  
[*ὡς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν συνει[σ]ενέγ[κοι]μι. Δίδωμι τοῖ[ν] ἅπα-* 56(21/35)  
[*σι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκ[ήν] οἰκουμένην π[ολε]ιτ[ε]ῖαν Ῥωμαίων [μ]ένοντος* 56(19/37)  
[*δὲ ξένου οὐδενὸς τῶν* } ταγμ[άτων} χωρ[ῆς] τῶν { [δὲ] } δειτικίων. Ὁφείλει [γ]ὰρ τὸ 56(21/35)  
[*δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων* } } [ἀδ] } 55(20/35)  
[*δ' οὐδενὸς ἐκτὸς τῶν* } } [εἰ] } 55(20/35)  
[*δὲ παντὸς γένους συστημ[άτων]* } } 55(20/35)
- 10 [*πληθος οὐ μόνον τᾶλλα συνυπ[ο]μένειν πάντα, ἀ[λλὰ] ἡδὲ κ[α]ὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐνπεριει-* 59(23/26)

<sup>1</sup> This article gives the slightly altered text of a paper read by me to the Cambridge Philological Society in November 1939 (cf. *Cambridge University Reporter* of January 16, 1940, p. 503 f.). I have to thank my old teacher, Professor K. Kalbfleisch, late of the University of Giessen, for contributing some readings of his own and for making many valuable suggestions, and Dr. D. Daube, of Gonville and Caius College, and Mr. P. Treves, of St. John's College, Cambridge, for allowing me to discuss special questions with them. The figures printed at the end of the lines in col. I indicate the total number of letters contained in the line in its restored state; while the numbers in brackets give the proportion of letters restored in the lacuna at the beginning of the line to the more or less well-preserved remainder.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kornemann, O. Eger, Paul M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, I (1910-12).

<sup>3</sup> My text and translation of col. II, 17 f., follows that of A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, II, No. 215, save for the slight alterations in ll. 28-9 introduced by Schubart and Wilcken a few years ago (cf. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, II, 66).

- [λήφθαι. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐμαντοῦ διάτ]αγμα ἐ[ξ]απ[λ]ώσει [τὴν] μεγαλειότητα [τοῦ] Ῥωμα[ί]·  
62(26/36)
- [ων] δήμου. Συμβαίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν] περὶ τοὺς [ἄλλο]υς γεγενησθαι ἥπερ δ[ι]α- 58(29/29)  
[πρέπουσιν ἀνέκαθεν Ῥωμαῖοι τιμῇ κα]ταλειφ[θέντων μηδέν]ων τῶ[ν] ἐ[κ]άστης 59(30/29)  
[χώρας ἐν οἰκουμένη ἀπολειπτέων ἢ ἀτιμ]ήτω[ν]. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν] π[ρ]οσ[όδων τῶν νῦν]  
59(33/26)
- 15 [ὑπαρχουσῶν συντελούντων, ἅπερ ἐκελεύσ]θη [παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κα(?) ἔτους,]  
59(33/26)
- [ὥς δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων καὶ ἐπιστ]ολῶ[ν, ἃ ἐξεδόθη ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε]  
58(33/25)  
[καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων. Προετέθη.....]  
[.....] Ἄλλης. Αὐ[το]-  
[κράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς λέγει. Πράγμ]α 62  
20 [μέγα ἀκούσατέ μου, ἵνα πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη χαρῇ καὶ αἱ λῦπαι ἀπάντ]ωι· ἐλλή- 57  
[γωσιν, πάντες οἱ φυγάδες κατελθέτωσαν, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτωσιν ἐγκλήματι] ἢ μώ- 57  
[μω καὶ ὁπωσοῦν καταδικασμένοι εἰσίν. Ἐκ διατάγματος κυρωθέντος] ὑπο- 59  
[στρεφέτωσαν πάντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας, πλὴν εἰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὲν] κυ- 60  
[ρίου καὶ θείου, ὑμέτερου δὲ πατρὸς Σεουήρου ἀνὴρ πεφυγαδευμένος τ]ι εἴη. 59  
25 [Ἐλεύθεροι δ' ἔστωσαν πανταχῇ, ὅποι οἱ ἡμέτεροι ὑπηρέται αὐτοὺς πρ]οίεσαν, 60  
[καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποκατασταθέντες ἡμῶν βίον τελείτωσαν, ὥς δίκαιον] ἐγ δια- 59  
[ταγμάτων καὶ ἐπιστολῶν, ἃ ἐξεδόθη ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων.] 58  
[Ἄλλης. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβασ]τὸς 60  
[λέγει.....]

## Col. II

- Κα[τα]γερμεν ἡμ[ετέροις] ἀποκατασταθείσιν, [ἅπερ τούτω]ν ἐ[στί], κ[ε]λεύω, [καὶ τὸν]  
ἵππον δημόσιο[ν προαπ]ε[σ]χηκόσιν ἀπο[δίδ]ωμ[ι, κ]αὶ οὐσ[ιῶν ἐπικρ]ίσις [δ]εῖσει ἢ [κ]α[ι]  
\πα[ρ]α/σ[ημε]ί-  
ωσις ἀποφά[σ]εως, [οὐς μὴ] κατέχειν ἢ λα[μβ]άνειν τὰς πολ[ι]τει[κ]ὰς [τ]ιμάς. Καὶ τοῦ[το]:  
Μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τᾶ[ξ]ε[ως] ἑαυτῶν <ἢ> συ[ν]ηγορίας πρὸς χρό[ν]ον κωλυθεῖσι μετὰ τ[ὸ]  
5 π[λ]ηρωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ χρ[ό]νου διάστημα οὐκ ὀνειδισθήσεται ἢ τῆς ἀτιμ[ί]ας παραση-  
με[ί]ωσις. Καὶ εἰ φανερόν ἐστιν πῶς πλήρη τὴν χάριτά μου παρενέθηκα, ὁμῶς  
ἵνα μὴ τις στενότερον παρερμηνεύσῃ τὴν χάριτά μου ἐκ τῶν ῥή[μα]των το[ῦ]  
προτέρου διατάγματος, ἐν ᾧ οὕτως ἀπεκριν[ά]μην· Ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντες  
εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας. Ἐλευθέραν με τούτοις πᾶσιν τὴν ἐπ[α]ν[ο]δ[ο]ν δεδοκέναι  
10 [εἰς] ἅπασαν τὴν γῆ[ν] καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν ἐμὴν δηλωταίον [ἐ]δοκίμασα, ἵνα μ[ὴ]  
π[α]ρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ δειλίας αἰτία ἢ παρὰ το[ῦ]ς κακοήθεσιν ἐπηρ[ε]ίας ἀφορμὴ ὑπολειφθῇ.  
Προετέθη πρὸ εἰδῶν Ἰουλίων δυοῖ Ἀσπροις ὑπάτοις, ὃ ἔστιν κ (ἔτους) Ἐπεὶ φ[ι]ς,  
ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρ[εί]α ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν οὐσιακῶν κα (ἔτους) Μεχεῖρ[ι]ς, γενομένου  
ὑπομνήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτω ἡγεμόνος Βαιβί[ου] Ἰο[υ]γκίνου τῇ δ  
15 [τοῦ] αὐτοῦ μηνὸς Μεχεῖρ.  
Ἄλλ[ης]:  
Αἰ[γ]υπτίοι πάντες, οἳ εἰσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα αἰ[γ]ροικοί, οἵτινες πεφε[ύ]γασιν  
ἀλλοθεν καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐ[ὑ]ρίσ[κε]σθαι δύναντα[ι], πάντῃ πάντως ἐγβλήσιμοί εἰσιν, ο[ὐ]χ[ὲ] μ[ὲν]τοι γε  
χοιρέμπο[ρ]οι καὶ ναῦται ποτά[μ]ιοι ἐκεῖνοί τε οἵτινες κάλαμον πρ[ὸ]ς τὸ  
20 ὑποκαίειν τὰ βαλα[νεῖ]α καταφέρουσι. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐγβ[α]λλε, οἵτινες τῷ πλήθει τῷ  
ιδίῳ κα[ὶ] οὐ[χ]ὲν χρήσει ταρασσουσι τὴν πόλιν. Σαραπείοις καὶ τισὶν ἑορ-  
τασ[ί]μοις ἡμέραις εἰσθῆναι κατάγειν θυσίας εἵνεκεν ταύρους καὶ ἄλλα τινα  
ἐν[τ]υ[χα] ἢ καὶ ἄλλαις ἡμέραις Αἰγυπτίους μανθάνω. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσι κωλυτέοι.



Ἐ[κεῖνοι] κωλ[ύ]εσθαι ὁφε[ί]λουσι οὔτινες τὰς χώρας τὰς ἰδίας, ἵνα μὴ  
 25 ἔρ[γον] ἄγροικον ποιῶσι, οὐχὶ μέντοι <οὔτινες> τὴν πόλ[ι]ν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων τὴν λαμπρο-  
 τάτ[ην] <<ἡν>> ἰδεῖν θέλον[τ]ες εἰς αὐτὴν συνέρχονται ἢ πολειτικωτέρας ζωῆς ἐνε-  
 κεν [ἢ πρ]αγματείας προ[σ]καίρου ἐνθάδε κ[α]τέρχονται. Μεθ' ἑ[τ]ερα. Ἐπιγεινώσκε-  
 σθαι γὰρ[ρ] εἰς τοὺς λ[ι]νοῦφ[ο]υς οἱ ἀληθινοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι δύναντ[α]ι εὐμαρῶς φωνῇ  
 ἄλλων [αὐτ]οὶ ἔχειν ὅψεις τε καὶ σχῆμα. Ἐπι τε καὶ ζω[ῇ] δεικνύει ἐναντία ἥθη  
 30 ἀπὸ ἀναστροφῆς [πο]λειτικῆς εἶναι ἀγροίκους Α[ί]γυπτίους.

I, 1-9: the lacuna on the left has room for not more than 21, and not fewer than 18 letters, a binding rule for restorations.

I, 4: cf. Herodian iv, 4, 6.

I, 8: π[ο]λειτ[ε]ῖαν: five not four letters in this lacuna (Heichelheim, confirmed by Kalbfleisch). For the restored passage τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκ[ήν] οἰκουμένην cf. Ulpian in *Dig.* i, 5, 17: *in orbe Romano*.

I, 9: [δ]ειτικων: 'Wer a[ι]δελικίων oder γεν[ε]τικίων schreibt, verlässt die Ueberlieferung!' (Kalbfleisch). [α]των: 'Nach genauer Untersuchung mit der Leuchtlupe Visolett. Die Lesung [α]τως halte ich nicht mehr für möglich' (Kalbfleisch).

I, 14-29: tentative restorations.

I, 17: [προετέθη . . .]. Cf. col. II, 12 f.

I, 19-24: cf. Cassius Dio LXXVIII, 3, 3.

I, 20: ων ελλη (Kalbfleisch).

I, 21: ημω (Heichelheim, confirmed by Kalbfleisch).

I, 22/23: cf. col. II, 8/9.

I, 26: εχ δια (Kalbfleisch).

I, 28 f.: three or four lines are lost.

II, 1: κα[τα]νέμειν ἡμ[ε]τέροις and κε[λε]ύω (Heichelheim, confirmed by Kalbfleisch).

II, 2: ἡ [κ]α[ι] \πα[ρ]α[σ]ημε[-], a possibility, but extremely uncertain.

II, 3: πολ[ε]ιτ[ε]κας, four, not three letters in this lacuna (Heichelheim, confirmed by Kalbfleisch).

II, 4: Μετὰ and τὰ[ξ]ε[ως], suggestions of Schubart (cf. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, i, 170), confirmed by Kalbfleisch.

II, 28: φωνῇ (Wilcken), cf. Preisigke, *op. cit.*, ii. 66.

II, 29: [αὐτ]οὶ (Schubart), cf. Preisigke, *loc. cit.*

'Edict of the [Emperor Caesar] M. Aurelius [Severus] Antoninus Augustus. [It is everywhere] necessary to attribute the main causes and reasons of events [to the divinity. I too myself have to be justly] grateful to the immortal gods, because they [safely] protected me, after such an [assault, as that of Geta, was attempted]. I believe, therefore, in the following manner to be able, magnificently and marvellously to do something equal to their greatness, if I lead, [as Romans, as many myriads] as happen to be my subjects to the [temples] of the gods.

'I grant, therefore, to all [free persons throughout the Roman] world the citizenship of the Romans, [no other legal status remaining] except that of the *dediticians*; for it seems fair, [that the masses not only] should bear all the burdens, but participate in the victory as well. [This my own] edict is to reveal the majesty of the Roman people. [For this majesty happens] to be superior to that of the other [nations], the [honour] in which [the Romans have excelled from the beginning], after no inhabitant of any country [in the world has been left without citizenship and] honour. [Referring to the] taxes [which exist at present, all are to pay what has been] imposed [on Romans, from the beginning of the 21st(?) year, as it is law according to the edicts and letters, issued by us and our ancestors. Displayed publicly. . .]

'[Another edict: Edict of the] Emperor [Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus. Listen to a great] action [of mine, that the whole world may rejoice and the anxieties of] all come to an end, [let all the exiles who have been condemned, on whatever charge] or blame [and in whatever manner, be restored. All are to] return [to their own native countries as soon as this edict has been displayed publicly, with the exception of men banished by my] lord [and *divus*, your father

Severus for] any [reason. They are to be free everywhere, wherever our officials] have let them go; [and all the men whom I have reinstated are to live for the future, as is right,] according to the edicts [and letters, issued by us and our ancestors].

‘[Another edict: Edict of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus] Augustus [. . . . .]. I command that to the men whom I have reinstated there must be attributed [what is due] to them, [and] I give the knight’s horse back to those who had it before, and a [new] verification of the properties [which are required for qualification to municipal offices] will be necessary [or, in addition,] a notification(?) of a decision [has to be made] referring to such [persons as are not] to hold or to occupy the municipal offices. And then the following: Hereafter, for persons to whom the membership of a certain class <or> of the community of lawyers has been forbidden for a certain time, this annotation of infamy is not to be prolonged after the time has expired. And if it is clear how fully I have shown my grace, nevertheless my grace is not to be interpreted too narrowly in accordance with the regulations of the earlier decree, in which I decided as follows: “All are to return to their own native countries.” It was my clear intention that the way should be free hereby for all these to the whole Empire as well as to my capital, Rome, that no cause for ignominy or a new beginning of insulting treatment from malicious persons should be left. Published in Rome, the fifth day before the Ides of July under the consulate of the two Aspri, *i.e.* 16th Epeiph of year 20; and (published) in Alexandria by the *procurator usiacus* in the 21st year, 16th Mecheir, and entered into the official book of documents by his excellency the prefect Baebius Juncinus on the fourth of (the) same month Mecheir.—Another [epistle]:

‘All Egyptians who are in Alexandria, and especially country-folk, who have fled from other parts of Egypt and can easily be detected, are by all manner of means to be expelled, with the exception, however, of pig-dealers and riverboatmen and the men who bring down reeds for heating the baths. But expel all the others, as by the numbers of their kind and their uselessness they are disturbing the city. I am informed, that on the day of the festival of Sarapis and on certain other festal days Egyptians are accustomed to bring down bulls and other animals for sacrifice, or even on other days; they are not to be prohibited [from doing] this.

‘The persons who ought to be prohibited are those who [flee] from their own districts to escape rustic toil, not [those], however, who congregate here with the object of viewing the glorious city of Alexandria or come down for the sake of enjoying a more civilized life [or] for incidental business.

‘A further extract: For genuine Egyptians can easily be recognized among the linen-weavers by their speech, which proves them to have assumed the appearance and dress of another class; moreover, their mode of life, their far from civilized manners reveal them to be Egyptian country-folk.’

The most interesting document of the four legal texts is the first one, the famous *Constitutio Antoniniana*, promulgated in the spring of A.D. 212, which granted Roman citizenship to most of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, immediately after Caracalla had murdered his younger brother Geta, and had become sole Emperor. Several sources refer to this franchise. Cassius Dio LXXVIII, 9, 5 records this extremely important legal act (according to Professor Cary’s translation in the Loeb Classical Texts) as follows: ‘This was the reason why (the Emperor Caracalla) made all the people in his Empire Roman citizens. Nominally he was honouring them, but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay most of the taxes, which he had introduced or reorganized.’<sup>1</sup> In addition, the jurist Ulpianus who lived under Caracalla as one of the legal advisers of the Emperor, and might have known the text of the *Constitutio Antoniniana in statu nascendi*, states in the *Dig.* 1, 5, 17: *In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt* (‘All persons throughout the Roman world were made Roman citizens by an edict of the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla’).

<sup>1</sup> Οὐ ἔρεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν ἀπέδειξεν. The passages of Justinian’s *Nov.* 78. 5 and St. John Chrysostom’s *In acta apostolorum homilia* 48. 1 (ed. Migne, *P. G.* 60, p. 333) which mention the same law are full of misunderstandings and without historical value.

St. Augustine might also have known the Latin original of our col. I, 7-11; for he writes in his *De Civ. Dei*, v, 17: *fieret . . . ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis et Romani cives essent ac sic esset omnium quod erat ante paucorum* ('It came about that all inhabitants of the Roman Empire received the bond of citizenship and became Roman citizens, so that the privilege of the few was made universal'). Finally, a short statement is to be found in *Script. Hist. Aug.* x, 1, 2: *civitatem omnibus datam* ('Citizenship was given to every one').

The invaluable col. I of the papyrus which contains the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is very much broken. Its lines had originally a length of between 55 and 64 letters, as Professor Wilhelm, the distinguished Ancient Historian from Vienna, has convincingly proved (see his ingenious but not always final restorations of P. Giss. 40, I, 1-13, which are published in *AJA* 38 (1934), 180). The text is written in so exact a hand that we are able to define with certainty how much has been lost, from certain parts of the preserved text, and from restorations which are self-evident, *e.g.*, those of l. 1.

The first six lines of the preserved text, which alone can be taken into account by us for such a task, have almost equal length; the following three lines are slightly shorter on the right, although the break on the left remains vertical throughout. All other lines of the column are much shorter on the left, and very often on the right as well. It is, in these circumstances, a most important fact for a conclusive restoration of col. I of the Giessen Papyrus that ll. 1-6 of the preserved part of this text have between 37 and 45 letters, a difference of 9 letters, and that the restored part of l. 1 comprises 18 letters, *i.e.* slightly less than one-half of the preserved part of the same line. It will, therefore, be a sound estimate, in my opinion, if we allow for the restorations of ll. 1-9 a difference of slightly less than one-half of that of the preserved text, *i.e.* a difference of about 4 letters. Professor Wilhelm's restorations of these lines show between 18 and 23 letters, *i.e.* a difference of 6 letters; S. N. Miller<sup>1</sup> allows between 18 and 22 letters, a variation of 5 letters, and C. H. Roberts<sup>2</sup> no more than 18 or 19 letters, a variation of 2 letters. All this is close to the mark, but not completely precise and satisfactory. Therefore I accepted for the Greek text suggested by me only restorations of between 18 and 21 letters for ll. 1-9, and of between 23 and 33 letters for ll. 10-16, the lacunae of which become gradually larger. The exact length of these lines represents a fact which can be found with certainty, but has not always been considered, to the disadvantage of the restorations and theories of many scholars.

Lengthy discussions over a period of almost thirty years have only slowly reached more or less satisfactory results. Even now the restorations and emendations of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* are far from final in the most disputed passages; but the reports of Ulpian, Cassius Dio, and St. Augustine, mentioned earlier, give us at least a lead as to the contents of the document.<sup>3</sup> My text of col. I, 1-7, 10, and 12 which, I think, is the right one, is identical with the one suggested very reasonably by Professor Wilhelm. I shall give, in addition, my own restorations of ll. 8 and 9, the most controversial parts of the text, a minor alteration of l. 11,<sup>4</sup> and more or less tentative restorations of ll. 13-17 which Wilhelm did not try.

Wilhelm has brought out splendidly the parts of the text which were intended to honour

<sup>1</sup> *CAH*, xii, p. 45, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1939), p. 225, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the bibliographies in *CAH*, xii, p. 734; *PW*, art. *peregrini*; Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, I, 170, II 62 f.; in E. Balog, *Über das Alter der Ediktcommentare des Gaius* (Hanover, 1914) 112 f.; and in three papyrus reports by Paul M. Meyer, *Z. Sav.* 48 (1928), 595 f., 50 (1930), 512 f., 52 (1932), 368 f. Cf. especially W. Stroux, *Philologus*, 88 (1933), 279 f.; A. H. M. Jones, *JRS* 26 (1936), 223 f.; F. Schönbauer, *Z. Sav.* 57 (1937), 309 f.; W. Kunkel, *Römisches Privatrecht* (1935), p. 57 f.; Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 218 f.

<sup>4</sup> *ἐμάντοῦ* instead of Wilhelm's *ἐμόν*, which is too short for the lacuna.

the new Roman citizens. Here he is in complete accord with the reports of Cassius Dio and St. Augustine, and his restorations have removed all the difficulties which led distinguished scholars<sup>1</sup> to believe that the document in question could not be the actual *Constitutio Antoniniana*, but only represented a legal text which was more or less connected with it.

Line 1 of this difficult and important papyrus contains the usual introduction to such edicts. The many titles of Caracalla indicate clearly how proud these later Roman rulers were of ancestors, even fictitious ones. The next sentences from ll. 2 to 7 are in agreement with the popular, more or less Stoic, philosophy of the period. It may be worth mentioning that this passage is not completely contrary to Christian ideas either. The belief in a divine providence, for which mortals must be grateful, was common both to the mystery-religions and Christianity, the ideals of which had conquered the people at that period. An Emperor who wished to win popularity, as was urgently necessary for Caracalla after the treacherous and cowardly murder of his own brother, had to speak a language which recalled to his subjects the holiest hours of their lives. Such an Emperor could not be as bad as appeared from some of his deeds, and he was more readily accepted as the instrument of the divine providence over the world, which is what he himself claimed to be. A Roman was of a higher dignity than a simple provincial. To be honoured by as many Roman citizens as possible, must have been believed to be very agreeable to the pagan gods who ruled over the world. They did not prefer, as did the Christians, the small gifts of poor serfs to the large ones of kings.

The next sentence, which begins with *δίδωμι* in l. 7 and ends with the restored expression [*δε*]*δειτικίων* in l. 9, is the most difficult one of the whole text. There are already two minor difficulties in l. 8 of the original edition. Professor Meyer restored here *π[ολιτ]είαν*, an ingenious suggestion, the general meaning of which fits splendidly into the passage, and which has been approved by most scholars up to Wilhelm and Sherwin-White; but the size of the disputed lacuna suggests one letter more, 5 instead of the 4 letters of Professor Meyer's restoration. Professor K. Kalbfleisch of Giessen (who has kindly checked my readings and restorations of this papyrus) found the solution of this difficulty. He restored the very common itacism *π[ολειτ]είαν* in l. 8 of the Giessen papyrus, the *ει* being in full agreement with the similar readings *πολειτικωτέρας* in II. 25, *πολειτικῆς* in II. 29, and the restoration *πολ[ειτ]ικὰς* in II. 3, which is required with similar certainty by the size of this lacuna too.<sup>2</sup>

It has been observed, from the time the Giessen papyrus was published, that the article *τήν*, which would be expected for reasons of style, is missing in l. 8 before the accusative *π[ολειτ]είαν* and its subsequent genitive; but this is no serious objection to Professor Meyer's restoration. Our text represents the Greek translation from a Latin original, and such translations might have been incorrectly stylized even by official translators. It should also be noticed in this connexion that the writer of the papyrus omits occasionally words which were certainly written in the manuscript copied by him.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the lacuna in the left half of l. 8 has been restored hitherto in an inexact or

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* E. Bickermann, 'Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40', *Phil. Diss. Berlin* (1926); R. Laqueur, *Nachr. Giess. Hochschulgeseellschaft*, VI (1928), 15 f. Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 224 and 226, has been similarly misled, because he wrongly believes that Wilhelm's restoration of I. 9, which was later accepted by Jones, but is actually several letters too long, could not be easily shortened without alteration of its sense, as we shall see later. His interpretation of *ὑπεισέλθωσιν* in I. 6 as 'migrate' cannot be accepted either, because the wording of the four laws of P. Giss. 40 does not show the peculiarities of the Greek of the later papyri, as Sherwin-White's suggestion implies. The language of this text is clearly the usual mixture of classical and, to a lesser degree, hellenistic peculiarities which are a characteristic of the 'chancellery Greek' during the Principate.

<sup>2</sup> Itacisms are common in our text: *vide* in II. 10 *δηλωταίων* instead of *δηλωτόων*, in II. 22 *εἵνεκεν*, and in II. 27/28 *ἐπιγεινώσκεισθαι*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* p. 20, n. 1.

misleading manner. Professor Wilhelm's suggestion τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν... ('all inhabitants of the world') would admit freedmen, *Latini iuniores*, and all barbarians outside the Empire (who were certainly not citizens<sup>1</sup> in the later third century A.D.) into the franchise. Professor Schönbauer's restoration τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοὶ κατὰ τὴν... ('all my subjects in the world'), and especially that of Professor Stroux ὅσοι ἐὰν ὦσι κατὰ τὴν... ('whoever lives in the world'), are similarly inexact. Professor Meyer's more precise legal wording ξένοις κατὰ τὴν... ('all *peregrini* throughout the world') is much too short for the lacuna and suggests participation of occasional visitors of the Empire in the franchise, which is impossible. On the other hand, it has not been noticed up to now, that St. Augustine with his passage *omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes*, and more clearly Ulpian with his five words *in orbe Romano qui sunt*, seem to remember the Latin original of the missing part of our text, especially as the expression *in orbe Romano* of Ulpian is unusual. I therefore venture to restore in the lacuna of l. 8 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκῇ οἰκουμένην, the equivalent of Ulpian's *orbis Romanus*.

Many articles and even books have been written to interpret and restore the other parts of ll. 8 and 9: the notorious μένοντος clausula is not mentioned in our literary tradition. It is certain that the whole important paragraph circumscribed the group of persons to whom citizenship was granted by Caracalla with sufficient legal distinctness and clarity. The ἄπασιν of l. 7 would not have been enough, as certain small groups were excluded from Caracalla's franchise without any doubt (see n. 1). The most difficult word of l. 9 is [δε]δειτικίων, the Greek transcription of the Latin term *dediticii*, as Professor Meyer rightly restored.<sup>2</sup>

As Bickermann in a splendid Berlin thesis, which founded his reputation as a scholar, has pointed out (see p. 15, n. 1), there are three different legal classes which were called *dediticii* by the Roman law. The first and the second of them, certain groups of freedmen, prisoners of war and, perhaps, certain groups of foreign auxiliary soldiers,<sup>3</sup> who were settled more or less in the status of serfs in the Roman provinces, were clearly excluded from the benefits of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, as we know from many sources and nobody has ever doubted. These groups must, indeed, have been mentioned in our text, at least indirectly, so as not to include them.

Furthermore, major difficulties of interpretation from the time the papyrus was published did not arise only because the term *dediticius* in the context of ll. 8 and 9 presents a problem which has not been solved up to now. Professor Meyer and most of his successors tried, in addition, to put square pegs of restorations in the round holes of known and recognizable facts, by not taking into account, before they began their restoring, the size and grammatical structure of the missing parts of the text on the left of l. 9, as far as we are able to establish that.

If I am right, each restoration of this lacuna would have to fulfil the following five conditions: (a) Its size should be of no more than 21 and no fewer than 18 letters, which excludes the well-known restorations of Meyer, Segrè, Stroux, Schönbauer, Wilhelm, Kunkel, etc. (see p. 14, n. 3), for they are decidedly too long, at least in their original form.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bickermann, *op. cit.*; Schönbauer, *op. cit.*; Sherwin-White, *op. cit.*, 224.

<sup>2</sup> The suggestions [γεν]τειλικίων of P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911), p. 355, n. 1, and [αί]δειλικίων of Laqueur, *loc. cit.*, are absolutely excluded, because the first letter after the lacuna can only be a δ and the fourth letter only a τ, as Professor Kalbfleisch assured me again in a letter. Greek transcriptions of the Latin terms *additicius* and *editicius* are admissible in l. 9 as well, at least from the purely palaeographic point of view; but I cannot see how these restorations could be made more certain than δεδειτικίων. Even so, *editicius* would suit better than *additicius* ('additional'), because it means a person who had legal obligations on account of an edict, like that of the present text, cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, s. vv. *additicius*, *dediticius*, *editicius*; Balog, *op. cit.*, 114 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *diplomata militaria* published in *CIL* XII and in *Année épigraphique* 1935–1939.

Several of them are even longer than intended by their authors, because the writer of the papyrus, as we learned earlier from other passages of the text, was accustomed to write *πολιτικοῦ* and *πολιτευμάτων* instead of Professor Schönbauer's *πολιτικοῦ* and the *πολιτευμάτων* of most other restorations.

(b) A perhaps rather short substantive in the genitive plural and ending in *]ατων* should be restored at the end of the lacuna. It has been proved by Stroux and especially by Professor Kalbfleisch, who kindly revised the papyrus for me again, that an adverb ending in *]ατως*, as Bickermann, Kling, and Schönbauer suggested, is excluded owing to palaeographic considerations. Not only the connecting line between *ω* and *ν*, as Stroux has already shown, but also the first hasta of the *ν* can be seen according to Professor Kalbfleisch's revision.

(c) The words *χωρ[is] τῶν [δε]δειτκίων* should be connected with the genitive absolute beginning with *μένοντος*, and not with the main sentence in ll. 7 and 8. Stroux and predecessors have proved this conclusively against Meyer.

(d) A masculine or neuter substantive or pronoun in the genitive singular is required as subject of the genitive absolute *μένοντος*, as is indeed obvious.

(e) What has not been taken into consideration hitherto, we should expect an adversative particle after *μένοντος* in the normal Greek of the period. Otherwise, there would have been a stylistic slip of the translator in this passage, similar to the one which we found in l. 8 before *π[ολειτ]είαν*; but to fill a lacuna, which admits many possibilities of restoration, with faulty Greek, because another slip has occurred earlier, would not in my opinion be correct and methodical, if a more suitable restoration can be found. I prefer, therefore, an adversative *δέ* *solitarium* after *μένοντος*, quite a common construction in hellenistic and later Greek. E. Mayser<sup>1</sup> refers to this construction with the remark 'Belege zahllos'.

Several of the earlier restorations of l. 9, in spite of being too long, are not completely excluded from future discussions, at least in their general meaning, if we add an adversative *δέ* after *μένοντος* to them, and alter the expression *πολιτευμάτων* which is decidedly too long in all cases, into *ταγμάτων* (or in one case better into *συστημάτων*)—changes already suggested by Professor Stroux as possibilities. Professor Meyer's and Sherwin-White's altered restoration would, under these circumstances, read as follows: *μένοντος [δέ παντός γένους συστημ]ά-των* (or *ταγμ]άτων*) (18–20 letters); that of Stroux, *μένοντος [δέ ξένου οὔδενός τῶν ταγμ]άτων* (21 letters); that of Wilhelm and Jones, *μένοντος [δ' οὔδενός ἐκτός τῶν ταγμ]άτων* (20 letters); and that of Kunkel, *μένοντος [δ' οὔδενός τῶν ἄλλων ταγμ]άτων* (20 letters).

The choice between these four restorations<sup>2</sup> presents a problem which palaeography cannot solve alone, but on which both the historical facts and the content of the historical reports on the *Constitutio Antoniniana* have a bearing. It is, as we observed earlier, to be considered as certain, that several small groups of inhabitants of the Roman Empire, *e.g.*, freedmen of minor status, prisoners of war as well as barbarian settlers and soldiers of minor status, were excluded from Caracalla's franchise (see p. 16). On the other hand, it is unlucky for each interpretation of this law that the term *dediticius*, which seems to have been used in l. 9, has a double meaning. It referred originally to all provincials who had been conquered by Rome by force, but later often included the small groups which preserved a minor status after Caracalla.

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, II, 3 (1934), 128.

<sup>2</sup> I mention other possibilities for experimental restorations of the *μένοντος* clausula which might be considered: *μένοντος [δέ τοῦ κόσμου (or λόγου) λειτουργημ]άτων* (or *πολιτευμ]άτων* or *τῶν ταγμ]άτων* or *τῶν συσ-τημ]άτων*) (18–21 letters). The sense of this group of restorations does not seem to me to be as likely as that of the earlier suggestions. As far as I am able to see, an almost unlimited number of restorations of l. 9 could be invented which are palaeographically unobjectionable.

In spite of these certain facts our best historical sources, the careful jurist Ulpian and the historian Cassius Dio, who were both living under Caracalla, and used official material for their reports and knew the actual wording of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, tell us clearly that all people received Roman citizenship under this Emperor. They did not find any exceptions at all worth mentioning. In these circumstances, we may be fairly certain that the exclusion of certain groups from the franchise, in spite of being an indisputable fact, could not be found at the first glance in an explicit reference of the main sentence of the law, but was stated only indirectly. The restorations of Stroux and Kunkel, who suggest such an indirect exception in the μένοντος clausula, should, therefore, in my opinion, be preferred to those of Meyer-Sherwin-White and Wilhelm-Jones, which have no direct bearing on the franchise but state a special regulation for municipal constitutions and *munera*. The term *dediticii* would, if I should be right in these considerations, mean the small groups which remained excluded from the Roman citizenship after Caracalla, an interpretation of this expression by Bickermann, of which Sherwin-White<sup>1</sup> now also approves.

The next passages of the law do not offer such difficult problems. The sentence from *ὀφείλει* in l. 9 to *ἐνπεριελήφθαι* in l. 11 reminds us so closely of the statement of St. Augustine mentioned earlier *Sic esset omnium, quod erat ante paucorum*, that Sherwin-White<sup>2</sup> is perhaps right in suggesting a direct connexion. In complete accordance with our historical tradition of Caracalla's behaviour after the murder of Geta, as W. Reusch<sup>3</sup> has proved in a convincing manner, the Emperor thanks afterwards the gods in the next paragraph, ll. 9-14, as in ll. 2-7, again for *σωτηρία* (14) and *νίκη* (l. 10), expressions which, as we know from Herodian, iv, 4 and 5, formed part of the very terminology of the Emperor's speeches at that time; and, like Nero after the murder of his mother, Caracalla tried to exculpate himself by giving the gods, the *μεγαλειότης*, i.e. the *maiestas* of the *populus Romanus*,<sup>4</sup> as well as all his subjects a share of his spoils.

My restorations of ll. 14-17 are tentative, owing to the size of the lacuna; but there must have been, at any rate, some financial clauses in the text of Caracalla's edict, which would rightly or wrongly indicate to Dio (see p. 13, n. 1), that the need for money was behind the measure, and which gave at least the date from which the duties of the new citizens were to begin. To say more was not necessary for the purpose; but this subject also could not be completely omitted. Otherwise complete legal and financial chaos would have been the consequence of the Emperor's decree, which would have been mentioned with pleasure by Cassius Dio, a decided enemy of Caracalla. But such a surmise is most unlikely, if not impossible, because we know with certainty that Caracalla had the best jurists of the century as his constant advisers in such matters. If I am right, the few preserved fragments of the last lines of the text point to such a financial passage. The end of the document most likely was similar to the end of the third edict of the same papyrus, which I shall discuss now, and which contains the date of the promulgation of this legal text, first in Rome and subsequently in Alexandria.

The second and third edicts of our papyrus fill the second half of col. I, immediately after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, and, in a better state of preservation, the first half of col. II. They have not been discussed very much hitherto, because the text of the last lines of col. I has been lost with the exception of groups of one to six letters on the right of the document, which were not finally read before Professor Kalbfleisch and I revised the text. Even the lines of col. II, 1-3, were in a condition which was not always satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 222, 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes* LXVII (1932), 473 f. Cf. in addition *CTG* III, p. 327, No. 4680, l. 3: τὸν σωτήρα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης.

<sup>4</sup> Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 223.

It was already clear to Professor Meyer in 1910 that the edict at the beginning of col. II was a later supplement to a certain amnesty-decree of Caracalla, which the Emperor had issued immediately after the murder of Geta and practically at the same time as the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. This amnesty-decree is not lost, as has been believed up to now. If I am right, it can be found in the broken parts of col. I of our text. One sentence of it *ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας* ('All are to return to their own native countries') is expressly mentioned in the supplementary decree of col. II in ll. 8 and 9, and Cassius Dio LXXVIII, 3, 3<sup>1</sup> gives the following epitome of the main sentences and parts of sentences of this amnesty-decree: 'To the senate on the following day (*i.e.* after the murder of Geta) Caracalla made some other remarks, and then, after rising from his seat, he said as he reached the door: "Listen to an important action of mine: that the whole world may rejoice, let all the exiles who have been condemned, on whatever charge, in whatever manner, be restored, with the exception of those banished by my *divus*, your father." Thus did he empty the islands of exiles, and grant pardon to the basest of criminals; but before long he had the islands full again.'

It has not been noticed hitherto that the sentence of decree No. II which begins with the hellenistic imperative *ὑποστρεφέτωσαν* and is mentioned in decree No. III (col. II, 8/9) fits well into the remains of col. I, 22 and 23; in addition, the epitome of Cassius Dio which I gave before requires only the minor changes which must be expected in rhetorical parts of the narrative of a Greek historian, to form an integral part of ll. 19–24. It is most natural that the main decree should be written immediately before its supplement, and therefore I venture to suggest the restoration of this decree in col. I of our text, in accordance with the known passages of the document and their wording, but perhaps more exactly from the legal point of view.

For instance, we find here the necessary distinction between banishment *ἐγκλήματι* (*i.e.* owing to a court decision after an accusation) and *μώμῳ* (*i.e.* by imperial order because the prisoner was to blame in certain political or moral matters). My restorations of decree II, and especially of ll. 25–7, are tentative, as a matter of course; but they are in complete agreement with the preserved letter groups and the size of the lacunae, and point to matters which cannot have been missing in the edict. After the model of a famous decree of Alexander the Great, who was the idol of Caracalla, as is well known,<sup>2</sup> the Emperor restored to their earlier status all the prisoners of the Roman State who had been banished from their homes under the predecessors of his father, and had been confined to certain islands of the Mediterranean. The return of such prisoners would have meant a political revolution in Rome. By his decree Caracalla could be certain that he would have personal followers in all towns of the Empire in future, who would not mind very much about the dreadful deeds he had done or was going to do, but were simply grateful to him without any reservation.

The wording of this amnesty-decree, which was a legal novelty, was not absolutely clear, and did not in all questions which arose indicate to the authorities how they were to act. Accordingly, a supplementary decree was necessary, which has been preserved to us as decree III of the Giessen papyrus. In addition, fragments of the Latin original of this subsequent edict are known from *Cod. Iust.* 10, 61 (59), 1: *Pars edicti Imperatoris Antonini Augusti, propositi Romae V Id. Iul. duobus Aspris coss. Quibus posthac ordine suo vel*

<sup>1</sup> Πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διελέχθη, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βήθρου ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενέσθαι "ἀκούσατέ μου" εἶπε "μέγα πρᾶγμα· ἵνα πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη χαρῇ, πάντες οἱ φυγάδες οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὧτων ἐγκλήματι καὶ ὧτων καταδικασμένοι (πλὴν εἰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὲν θεοῦ, ὑμετέρου δὲ πατρὸς πεφυγαδευμένοι εἶεν) κατελθέτωσαν". Τὰς μὲν οὖν νήσους οὕτω τῶν φυγάδων κενώσας, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν καταδικασμένων ἀδειαν δεδωκώς, εἰτ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀνεπλήρωσε.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cassius Dio, LXXVIII, 7, 8.



*advocationibus ad tempus interdicitur, post impletum temporis spatium non prorogabitur infamia* ('Part of an edict of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus, which was issued in Rome on the 5th of the Ides of July, under the consulate of the two Aspri: 'For persons to whom the membership of a certain class or of the community of lawyers has been forbidden for a certain time, this infamy is not to continue after the time has expired'). A periphrasis of parts of the same edict is given by Ulpian in *Dig.* 50, 2, 3, 1, who reports: *Imperator enim Antoninus edicto proposito statuit, ut cuicumque aut quacumque causa ad tempus ordine vel advocationibus vel quo alio officio fuisset interdictum, completo tempore nihilo minus fungi honore vel officio possit* ('For the Emperor Antoninus stated in a promulgated edict, that persons to whom for whatever reason the membership of a certain class or of the community of lawyers or the administration of another office had been forbidden for a time, nevertheless might participate in such an honour or office after the time of their punishment had expired').

I am now going to deal with this edict as it is preserved in P. Giss. 40. It begins, if I am right, in l. 28 of col. I. Several new readings and restorations could be found for the first recognizable paragraph of it in col. II, 1-3, lines which had no connected text in Professor Meyer's original edition. Only, the letter group  $\eta [\kappa] \alpha [\iota] \backslash \pi \alpha [\rho] \alpha / \sigma [\eta \mu \epsilon] \iota$ - at the end of col. II, 2, the modification of an earlier suggestion of Professor Meyer, is not to be considered as certain.<sup>1</sup> In decree III the Emperor makes provision for those of the reinstated men, who had or would have a right to dignities and honoured positions. The Roman knights got back their horses, and it was forbidden to exclude the new protégés of the Emperor from municipal offices. In any case, their fortunes had to be valued for the well-known lists, which were drawn up in all town communities of the Empire and contained the names of all possible prospective officials for future municipal elections.<sup>2</sup>

It is not said in II, 2, as Professor Meyer concluded from the letters *οὐσ* which he restored to the accusative plural *οὐσ[ί]ας* and connected with *ἀποδίδωμι* in the same line, that confiscated fortunes of reinstated persons had to be returned by the state. Such a surmise would be extremely unlikely in my opinion, if we take into account the financial position of the Empire under Caracalla.<sup>3</sup> Only a valuation of fortunes, if there were any left, was agreed on, a measure which, nevertheless, explains for us why this edict was published, according to l. 13, by the *procurator usiacus* in Alexandria, the financial representative of the Emperor in the Egyptian province.

Paragraph two of the law in ll. 4-6 gives the important regulation, which we mentioned earlier and which has been preserved in Justinian's *Corpus Juris* as well. This law, derived from power-politics disguised by sweet phrases, represents the origin of one of the main principles of most of the post-Roman, and especially of all liberal, penal codes, namely that no disqualification is to remain after the time fixed for a punishment or a penalty has expired. It was the humanitarian outlook of late Roman society<sup>4</sup> which preserved this regulation for us.

<sup>1</sup> A large lacuna goes right through this letter group and the correction or addition over it, and makes a final reading most difficult, if not impossible. The scribe seems to have become tired after he had written col. I, the correction in II, 2 not being his only slip. He leaves out indispensable words subsequently, e.g.,  $\eta$  in II, 4, and *οἵτινες* in II, 25. His earliest slip of this kind was, perhaps, the omission of  $\tau\eta\upsilon$  in I. 8, his last one the dittography « $\eta\upsilon$ » in II, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *PW*, art. *munus*; F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (1926), 100 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cassius Dio, LXXVIII, 9, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Laqueur, *Das Kaisertum und die Gesellschaft des Reiches, Probleme der Spätantike. Vorträge auf dem 17. Deutschen Historikertag*, 14 f.

The last paragraph, in ll. 6–11, makes provision for ex-criminals, in whose case, as it appears, some officials of the imperial administration had considered it safer that they should remain under control. One sentence of the earlier imperial amnesty decree could, indeed, be interpreted so that the ex-convicts had to go to their native countries, but could not take up residence wherever they liked. This qualifying interpretation was not the official one of the Emperor, but he had to say that expressly in his new decree. Even ex-criminals were allowed to stay anywhere in the Empire with freedom, until, perhaps, a new crime brought them again into conflict with the authorities.

Lines 12–15 contain the normal formulae of publication for such documents. We see that the edict was published in Rome in July A.D. 212, but in Alexandria not before January A.D. 213, which proves that it was not considered very important, or, what seems more likely to me, that it was secretly delayed by the bureaucracy of the Empire, which did not like the unlimited clemency extended to ex-criminals.

The fourth and last legal document of P. Giss. 40, an epistle of Caracalla of A.D. 215, which extends from ll. 17 to 30 of col. II, is very satisfactorily edited and interpreted in the original edition, and later in Mitteis–Wilcken, *Chr.* II, 22; Abbott–Johnson, *op. cit.*, No. 193; and Hunt–Edgar, *op. cit.* II, No. 215. I give, therefore, only a short survey of the contents of this text, which is rather different from the other three documents with their somewhat pseudo-humanitarian outlook.

Epistle IV represents one of the inceptive stages of the compulsion which resulted in the serfdom of the Late Roman Empire. The majority of the Egyptians in Alexandria were to be expelled into the countryside of Egypt by Caracalla's command. The state ordered where a large percentage of its new citizens should take up residence. The peasants were not allowed to leave their homesteads or change their professions, in spite of the immense burdens, taxes, and liturgies which they had to bear. The Egyptian pig-dealers, riverboatmen, and reed-traders in Alexandria were excepted from Caracalla's expulsion decree, but not because they were freer than the peasants. These professions and their *collegia* were under government control at that time.<sup>1</sup> They had to fulfil the duties which the government ordered for them, and had to take the pay which the government found suitable.

The wealthier class of people were also excepted from expulsion to a certain degree, but only, again, because Caracalla could confiscate their fortunes in Alexandria more easily than in the country, as we may conclude from Cassius Dio's report,<sup>2</sup> which refers in detail to the circumstances from which this law originated. A small genuine privilege was given to Sarapis, in whose temple the Emperor resided at the time of the promulgation of the epistle. That was all. How the police in Alexandria were ordered to act in enforcing the expulsion decree we see from the second extract. Dress and speech and appearance of doubtful persons, *i.e.* the majority of the inhabitants of Alexandria, had to be considered, if it was to be discovered who was actually an Egyptian and had, therefore, to be expelled. These orders meant in practice that the officials and soldiers of Caracalla could do just as they liked. Bribery and corruption must have been a paying business for them in consequence. No wonder that the breakdown of the Roman Empire begins at the very period of such 'laws', which made the barbarians for all time stronger than the Romans.

A last word may be allowed me as to the purpose of the whole text,<sup>3</sup> a question which has not been considered up to now. P. Giss. 40 with its four laws of quite different date and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Kunkel, *Archiv* VIII, 185; M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, I, 139 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cassius Dio LXXVIII, 22–3 and in addition Herodian, IV, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for a similar problem W. Schubart, *Archiv* XII (1936), 27 f.

content cannot have been a more or less homogeneous roll for the purpose of some Roman official, for whom it might have been useful to have all constitutions of Caracalla at hand, or all laws of a certain type issued by the Emperor. It is more likely, in my opinion, that this compilation was composed to do its service for the legal claims of a private person.

If I should be right in this surmise, we are able to say something of the life and fate of this gentleman without knowing his name and residence. He must have been a comparatively wealthy man, who could afford to pay the costs for the scribe and for procuring the papyrus and the necessary legal manuscripts, out of which the four laws had to be taken. He could claim the privilege, possibly not without dispute, to be exempted from the expulsion of Egyptians from Alexandria, and to get permission to visit the capital. He had become a Roman citizen owing to Caracalla's franchise. On the other hand, he seems to have been in difficulties before the reign of Septimius Severus. Most likely he was banished at that time, and was freed and reinstated in consequence of the amnesty decree of A.D. 212. He might legitimately claim either to be admitted to Alexandria, or, perhaps, to be reinstated into municipal dignities and honours which he had lost by banishment and condemnation. Not only the single laws of P. Giss. 40, but even the life of the owner of this small roll, seem, under these circumstances, of exceptional interest to us. If Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 227, is right in calling the discussions which this text has provoked a 'battle' of scholars, yet the fight has not been absolutely in vain.

## ADOPTION EXTRAORDINARY

BY ALAN H. GARDINER

IN these catastrophic days I feel it undesirable to postpone any longer the publication of an exceptionally interesting Ramesside papyrus which I acquired some years ago. My readers, if any there be still able to lend their minds to Egyptology and the study of Ancient Law, will perhaps not regret that for lack of the necessary books of reference I cannot add one of those full philological commentaries dear to my grammatical mind, though a few notes have proved indispensable. The document is a provincial one emanating, no doubt, from the site of the Middle Egyptian town of Spermeru, named in the Golénischeff Onomasticon and the great Harris papyrus just before and therefore probably south of Herakleopolis Magna.<sup>1</sup> The language is barbarous, the composition execrable. None the less the sense is clear and there is hardly a sentence that cannot be readily translated. The facts disclosed are amazing. We had no inkling that in Egypt the legal fiction of adoption could assume such importance or be carried to such lengths. To comment technically on the proceedings here narrated is beyond my competence, and I am grateful, therefore, to Professor de Zulueta for having consented to undertake this task.

The original is at present buried for safety's sake some forty feet below ground, so that it is impossible to give more details of its external features than can be seen from the Plates accompanying this article (Pls. V-VII).<sup>2</sup> The hieratic text, in a legible and accomplished hand, runs parallel to the joins of the original roll, *i.e.* across the fibres on the *recto* and along them on the *verso*. This was the usual practice with letters, short legal texts, and the like, the idea being to economize papyrus as far as possible. The scribe, having written about two-thirds of what he had to say, then cut off from the roll the part already written, turned his manuscript vertically, and continued on the *verso*. The *verso* containing only the remaining third had plenty of blank space to form the outside of the roll, and there, if necessary, a docket or address could be written, though none such appears in the present instance. Joins may be seen in the photographs just above l. 1 of the *recto* and below its last line, l. 26. Corrections both in and above the line are found in various places, and indications exist, particularly between *rt.* 15-16, that the *recto* at all events is palimpsest.

## TRANSLATION

Year 1, third month of Summer, day 20 under His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Raemesse-khaemwēse-miamūn, the god, ruler of Heliopolis, given life to all eternity. On this day, proclamation to Amūn of the shining forth of this noble god, he arising and shining forth and making offering to Amūn.<sup>3</sup> Thereupon Nebnūfer, my husband, made a writing for me, the musician of Sētekh Nenūfer, and made me a child of his<sup>4</sup>, and wrote down unto me all he possessed, having no son (ṣ) or daughter apart from myself. 'All profit<sup>a</sup> that I have made with her, I will bequeath it to Nenūfer, my wife, and if <any of> my own brothers or sisters arise to confront

<sup>1</sup> See *rt.* 15 and Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 31. The place is frequently mentioned in the soon to be published Wilbour papyrus, where Sētekh is named as its principal deity.

<sup>2</sup> For preparing the autographed Plates VA, VIA, VIIA I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Smither.


<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* announcement to Amūn of Karnak of the King's accession, whereupon he proceeded to make offerings to that god.

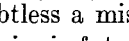
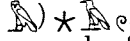

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'for himself as a child'.


her at my death to-morrow or thereafter<sup>b</sup> and say "Let my brother's share be given (to me)—";<sup>1</sup> Before many and numerous witnesses: the stable-master Rir, the stable-master Kairisu, and the stable-master Benereeduanūfer; before the stable-master Nebnūfer, son of 'Anrokaia; before the Sherden<sup>c</sup> (10) Pkamen; before the Sherden Satameniu and his wife 'Adjedto. Behold, I have made the bequest to Rennūfer, my wife, this day before Huirimu my sister.'

Year 18, first month of Inundation, day 10, under His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menma'rē-setpenptaḥ, the son of Rē, the Lord of Diadems, Ra'messe-kha'emwēse-miamūn, the god, ruler of Heliopolis, given life to all eternity. On this day, (15) declaration made by the stable-master Nebnūfer and his wife the musician of Sētekh of Spermeru Rennūfer, to wit:—'We purchased the female slave Diniḥetiri<sup>d</sup> and she gave birth to these three children, one male and two female, in all three. And I<sup>2</sup> took them and nourished them and brought them up,<sup>3</sup> and I have reached this day with them without their doing evil towards me, but they dealt well with me, I having no son or daughter (20) except<sup>e</sup> them. And the stable-master Padiu<sup>f</sup> entered my house and took Taamennē their elder sister to wife, he being related to me and being my younger brother. And I accepted him for her and he is with her at this day. Now behold, I have made her a freewoman of the land of Pharaoh,<sup>g</sup> and if she bear either<sup>h</sup> son or daughter, they shall be freemen of the land of Pharaoh in exactly the same way, they being with the stable-master Padiu, (25) this younger brother of mine. And the children<sup>4</sup> shall be with their elder sister in the house of Padiu, this stable-master, this younger brother of mine, and to-day I make him (*vs.* 1) a son of mine exactly like them.' And she said: 'As Amūn endures, and the Ruler endures, I (hereby) make the people whom I have put on record freemen of the land of Pharaoh, and if any son, daughter, brother, or sister of their mother and their father<sup>5</sup> should contest their rights,<sup>6</sup> except Padiu this son<sup>7</sup> of mine—for (*vs.* 5) they are indeed no longer with him as servants, but are with him as brothers and children, being freemen of the land <of Pharaoh>—may a donkey copulate with him and a donkey with his wife,<sup>i</sup> whoever it be that shall call any of them a servant. And if I have fields in the country, or if I have any property in the world,<sup>8</sup> or if I have merchandise (?), these shall be divided among my four children, Padiu being one of them. And as for these matters (*vs.* 10) of which I have spoken, they are entrusted<sup>9</sup> in their entirety to Padiu, this son of mine<sup>10</sup> who dealt well with me when I was a widow and when my husband had died.' Before many and numerous witnesses, the stable-master Setekhemḥab, the musician of Sētekh Teuḥrai, the farmer Su'aweamūn, before Taymaunofre and the musician of 'Anti Tentnebthō.

## NOTES

(a) For  see the short special article below, p. 157 f.

(b) Doubtless a miswriting for  (or ) \*  'on the morrow after to-morrow', i.e. in future. *Wb.* v, 423, 6 knows only of examples with *hr-s* in place of *r-s*, but I have quoted an instance of *r-s dw* (without preceding *m dw*) from an ostrakon, *Proc. SBA*, 38, 181. Cases are not uncommon in which *s* alone is written, without either *r* or *hr*.

(c) Evidence is accumulating that there were many colonists of Sherden race in Middle Egypt towards the end of the Ramesside period. Other examples are to be found in the still unpublished Amiens papyrus; and in the great Wilbour papyrus which I am editing for the Brooklyn Museum the quite common epithet  is more likely to represent

<sup>1</sup> The apodosis, of which the purport is evident, has been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Feminine.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'caused them to make the(ir) greatness'.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the other daughter and the son of the female slave Diniḥetiri.

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear what is meant. Had Diniḥetiri other children by the same father who had not dealt kindly by Rennūfer? But perhaps it is the relatives of the adoptive parents that are intended.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'speak against them', a phrase which usually has this specialized sense.

<sup>7</sup> Note that here and below in l. 10 Padiu, hitherto named as Rennūfer's younger brother, is significantly referred to as her son.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'land'.

<sup>9</sup> The same word as was rendered 'bequeath' above.

<sup>10</sup> See above, n. 7.

(i) This obscene conditional curse is not uncommon in oaths of the Ramesside period and later. For several examples see Spiegelberg's article *Rec. Trav.* 25, 190 ff.; the Berlin dictionary fails to cite this expression under *nk* 'copulate', *Wb.* II, 345.

Years have passed, and Rennūfer, now widowed, decides in her turn to make a will. She tells how together with her husband she had purchased a female slave, and how that slave had given birth to two daughters and a son. Who the father was is not stated, but possibly an Egyptian reader would have taken it for granted, without being told, that the

<sup>1</sup> For such a marriage settlement see the Turin papyrus published by Černý and Peet in *JEA* 13, 30.

father was none other than Nebnūfer himself. Against such a conjecture it can barely be objected that in the first declaration Nebnūfer was said to have no child except the wife he adopted, since what was true at that time may not have been true later. Be this as it may, Rennūfer took the children to herself, brought them up, and reaped her reward in their obedience and kindness. As she felt old age creeping upon her, and not having children of her own, she resolved to adopt these slave-children and to make them her heirs. An obstacle arose in the fact that they were of servile birth, but this was overcome by an act of emancipation consisting in Rennūfer's declaring before witnesses that they were 'freemen of the land of Pharaoh' and no mere 'servants'.<sup>1</sup> A fortunate circumstance now provided the widow with as suitable a guardian<sup>2</sup> for the children as she could ever have wished, a younger brother of hers forming an attachment for the elder of the two slave-woman's daughters. Rennūfer gladly welcomed Padiu's desire to marry the girl, and wishing to bequeath to him an equal share in her property adopted him also. The position thus reached, if translated into modern terms of relationship, is calculated to make the brain reel. No longer was Padiu merely Rennūfer's younger brother, but he became also at once her son and her son-in-law. Since, moreover, Nebnūfer had adopted his wife, this young brother-in-law of his became implicitly both his son and his grandson by adoption, besides being the husband of an adoptive granddaughter. It is not pretended, of course, that the Egyptians themselves could ever have looked at the matter in this way; they, no doubt, were aware only of the single relationship of adopted child arising from each act of adoption, and that act, repeated in several separate instances, sufficed to give the child in question the same rights of inheritance as would have been possessed by an actual child. The oath finally sworn by Rennūfer achieved various ends. In the first place it emancipated the slave-children and safeguarded them against any possibility of disinheritance, unless indeed Padiu himself should decide such a course to be advisable. In the second place it stipulated that no possession of Rennūfer whatsoever should be excluded from the equal division between the four heirs. And lastly, it gave Padiu full authority as executor for the widow and as the children's trustee, this partly on account of the kindly treatment Rennūfer had received at his hands.

At this point I yield the word to Prof. de Zulueta:

'Dr. Gardiner has done me the honour of asking me to add a legal commentary on this extremely interesting papyrus. I am happy to do so, with the reservation that I know nothing of the legal system in question or of its diplomatic practice.

'The papyrus records three adoptions: (1) By a writing executed on the day of Ramesses XI's accession Nebnūfer adopts his wife Rennūfer, they being childless, with the expressed purpose of making her successor to all his property, to the exclusion of his collaterals. The words "All profit that I have made with her" (l. 5) suggest a limitation, but just previously we have "he wrote down to me all that he possessed". (2) By a process the nature of which is not clear Rennūfer adopts the three children of the slave-woman Dinihetiri, who had been jointly purchased by Nebnūfer and herself. (3) By the writing which forms the second part of the papyrus Rennūfer adopts her younger brother Padiu, who had, with Rennūfer's consent, married Taamennē, the eldest of Dinihetiri's said children, declaring that Padiu and the three children shall divide her property and making Padiu a sort of executor.

<sup>1</sup> For these terms see *JEA* 19, 21; 21, 145. Note that, as in the Cairo papyrus last quoted, the word 'servant' is used with the meaning of 'slave', though in itself of wider scope.

<sup>2</sup> The technical term for such a 'guardian' or 'trustee', namely  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{rw} \text{𓂏𓂏}$  *rwdu*, is not here mentioned. *Wb.* II, 413, 12 gives some good instances, but does not distinguish between definitely distinct applications of the word.

'In all three adoptions the prominent motive is testamentary. Our papyrus provides a particularly clear illustration of a well-known phenomenon, namely the utilization of adoption for testamentary purposes. It is noticeable that the devolution of the adopter's property is not left to be deduced as a matter of law from the adoptive relationship, but is declared in express terms; in the first adoption there is even express exclusion of the adopter's collaterals who, but for the adoption, would have been his heirs. We have the testament in embryo.

'Dr. Gardiner tells us that the entire writing is materially one, forming a continuous whole and clearly written at one sitting. Moreover, all parts emanate from one person, Rennūfer. Still the first part of the papyrus, ll. 1-10, forms a distinct block, relating Nebnūfer's adoption of Rennūfer. I am unable to decide whether this first part is to be regarded as a recital contained in the writing executed by Rennūfer which occupies the rest of the papyrus, or has merely been juxtaposed with it by Rennūfer for purpose of record, as part of the family archives. There is no verbal nexus between the two parts, nor are they connected by strict legal logic, for so far as I can judge Rennūfer's adoption by Nebnūfer makes no legal difference to the adoption by her of the three children. But of course, since they were to succeed her, it was a matter of importance to them, and the motive of the later adoptions was predominantly testamentary.

'By adoption (1) Rennūfer became her husband's daughter. If one can think of such a thing being done at Rome, this would in developed Roman law have unmarried the worthy couple (so-called *incestus superveniens*), but this is merely juristic logic, for which ancient Egypt may have had little taste. It should not, however, be forgotten that the more primitive Roman institute of *manus* made the wife *loco filiae* to her husband, so that, if he had been a Roman, Nebnūfer could have made Rennūfer his sole *sua heres* by taking her into his *manus*.

'Adoptions (2) and (3) show adoption by a woman, un-Roman, but not unnatural. I return below to the question of the process by which adoption (2) was effected.

'Adoption (3) shows a sister adopting her own younger brother. Changing the sex of the adopter I know of no objection in Roman principle to this, but of course the testamentary motive, so evident here, was lacking in Roman law. By adoption (2) Padiu was his wife's uncle; by Roman law one could not marry one's sister's daughter, and the Romans regarded adoptive relationship, so long as it endured, as an impediment to intermarriage. When by adoption (3) he became his wife's brother, he would by Roman law have been even more certainly unmarried from her. Evidently the people with whom we are dealing did not take adoptive relationship seriously for this purpose; they were interested in its results on the devolution of property. And is not the popular idea correct that in ancient Egypt marriage between brother and sister was quite normal?

'Coming to closer interpretation we meet a difficulty. Adoption (1), as stated, forms a distinct block; it begins with its own date and ends with its own witnesses. The rest of the papyrus forms another block beginning with a date and ending with witnesses. This second part, which we will call the present act, consists of narrative of past events, what we call recitals, up to "Now behold, I have made her a freewoman" (ll. 20-25), and from those words onwards of an operative part (so our own "Now this indenture witnesseth"). The date at the beginning of the present act (ll. 10-15) ought to be that of the act itself, as the witnesses at its end are its witnesses. But this is at first sight impossible because, immediately after the date, we read (ll. 14 ff.) "On this day, declaration made by . . . Nebnūfer and his wife . . . Rennūfer", whereas at the time of the execution of the present act Rennūfer had for some time been a widow (rs. ll. 10 ff.). I had naturally understood that on the



date mentioned, Year 18, Nebnūfer and his wife made the declaration that follows: "We purchased the female slave Dinihetiri and she gave birth to these three children, one male and two female, in all three." I explained the brevity of the declaration by supposing that it was nothing but a return to an official, for the purpose of a census or the like. But below Dr. Gardiner propounds another view, from which I should be rash indeed to dissent. I part with Year 18 as the date of the joint declaration without a pang, but I hope I may keep the joint declaration as having occurred at some time. It seems to help in explaining what to me is the most difficult point in the papyrus, namely by what means Dinihetiri's three children became Rennūfer's. I shall assume that this declaration, whatever its date, did occur.

'It is remarkable that Rennūfer's narrative tells of no formal adoption of the three children by her. She relates (1) the declaration made by her and Nebnūfer, (2) that she took them and nourished them and that they behaved well to her, (3) that it was with her consent that the eldest of them, Taamennē, married Padiu. Now in this state of facts what she finds it desirable to do in the interest of the children is to declare them fully free and joint heirs with Padiu. The declaration of freedom extends, be it observed, to Taamennē's children also. One asks oneself, at what exact point in this history did the three children become Rennūfer's? Hardly, I should say, by virtue solely of the joint declaration of Nebnūfer and Rennūfer; that would, I suppose, have made them, if anything, the children of Nebnūfer and so joint heirs to him along with Rennūfer. Yet there must be a reason for the declaration being mentioned. It assured them at any rate of the status of *vernae* and not mere bought slaves; it may also have conveyed to Egyptians the implication that Dinihetiri, the joint property of the childless spouses, was given by the wife to her husband, as Sara gave Hagar, her maid the Egyptian, to Abraham. The son of the bondwoman had rights even though Isaac's birth reduced them. Rennūfer proceeded to treat the children as children of the house; this need mean no more than a *de facto* adoption, but coupled with their origin may have consolidated their position. In the operative part of the present act Rennūfer assumes that they are already her children: she makes Padiu her son this day exactly like them (*vs.* l. 1). Still, something was evidently lacking in their status, and that is what is intended to be supplied by the very emphatic declarations of their freedom and that of Taamennē's children. Till this had been declared their status was, I conjecture, intermediate between slavery and full freedom. But thereafter they are "*no longer* to be with Padiu *as servants*, but are with him as brothers and children" (*vs.* ll. 1-5).'

Thus far Professor de Zulueta, for whose illuminating remarks readers of the *Journal* will be no less grateful than myself. There remains one matter, however, on which we are perhaps not quite of accord, and at my collaborator's request I add some lines in defence of my position. Despite the express wording of the text '... declaration made by (lit, "what was said by") the stable-master Nebnūfer and his wife the musician of Sētekh of Spermeru Rennūfer', I think it highly improbable that any such common declaration was incorporated in the body of 'the present act'. The entire narrative from 'We purchased ...' in *rt.* 16 down to '... when my husband had died' in *vs.* 11 reads to me like a single continuous utterance, nor can I grasp the *raison d'être* for a joint declaration of the kind supposed. I realize that to anyone unacquainted with the inaccuracies of Egyptian expression the denial of what is clearly affirmed by the papyrus itself must seem a large morsel to swallow. To me, however, the simplification obtained by assuming that only the widow speaks in the section dated in Year 18 is so attractive that I do not hesitate to make that assumption.





4<sup>a</sup> Or is? 6<sup>a</sup> Sic instead of is; another strange writing vs. 5. 7<sup>a</sup> See printed note. <sup>b</sup> is is apparently corrected out of is.

8<sup>a</sup> Perhaps  $\odot$  and  $\mid$  run together for lack of space. 10<sup>a</sup> Almost certainly  $\mathbb{R}$ , not  $\mathbb{L}$

## THE ADOPTION PAPYRUS

*recto*, ll. 1-12

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

*recto*, ll. 1-14

15  
 20  
 25

16<sup>a</sup> A correction above the line. 22<sup>a</sup> 111 is not quite certain; the entire group has been corrected. <sup>b</sup> A later addition above the line, with superfluous repetition of *Ad*. 23<sup>a</sup> The second example might seem to favour *mm* rather than *mm*, but see above ll. <sup>c</sup> The determinatives are omitted for lack of space.

THE ADOPTION PAPYRUS

recto, ll. 15-26

15  
 20  
 25

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Vs. 2<sup>a-b</sup> The entire group was meant to be deleted, but the ~~2~~ remains very visible. Vs. 3<sup>a</sup> The horizontal sign is presumably an intentional space-filler, as below vs. 11.12. Vs. 5<sup>a</sup> A miswriting for ~~III~~. Vs. 6<sup>a</sup> A later addition. Vs. 9<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps ~~III~~.

Vs. 11<sup>a</sup> See vs. 3, note<sup>a</sup>. <sup>b</sup> A correction. Vs. 12<sup>a</sup> See vs. 3, note<sup>a</sup>.

## THE ADOPTION PAPYRUS

*verso*, ll. 1-13

1. ...  
 2. ...  
 3. ...  
 4. ...  
 5. ...  
 6. ...  
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 8. ...  
 9. ...  
 10. ...  
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 13. ...

## THE ADOPTION PAPYRUS

verso, ll. 1-13





How amazing were the ways of Late-Egyptian scribes has recently been shown by Dr. Černý, who has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that a number of letters headed in the form 'X to Y' were really written by Y to X!<sup>1</sup> The extreme clumsiness of my Adoption Papyrus is well seen in the first section, where narration by Rennūfer in the first person gives place without warning to quotation in the same person from words spoken by Nebnūfer. I have suggested in my commentary that the formula 'declaration made by . . . Nebnūfer and . . . Rennūfer' in the second section may have been due to a desire on the part of the widow to associate her late husband in the purport of her own testamentary dispositions. That is one possibility, but there is also another. The purchase of the slave-woman Dini-ḥetiri was effected by Nebnūfer and Rennūfer in common, so that the widow's assertion to that effect necessarily began with the plural pronoun 'we'. Perhaps it was mere carelessness or muddleheadedness which beguiled the hireling scribe who recorded the proceedings into representing Nebnūfer as a partner in the declaration, whereas in fact he was long since dead. It is quite in keeping with such carelessness or incompetence that Rennūfer nowhere expressly declares her adoption of the slave-children, though she does expressly declare their freedom. Perhaps the latter declaration, coupled with the clear intention of her words, was good enough to give validity to her legal act.

<sup>1</sup> See Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, pp. xxi ff.

# SESHAT AND THE PHARAOH

BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT

SESHAT was one of that numerous company of deities who were so ancient as to be already dying out in the Old Kingdom. Such are also the Labrys  $\bowtie$  and *lmt*, both of whom disappeared entirely, the *wh*, which lingered on a little, Weneg, who was accommodated in the Sun-religion, Mafdet, of whom nothing is known but that she had existed and that her birth was celebrated on the Palermo Stone along with that of Seshat<sup>1</sup>, and Nephthys who survived all through Egyptian history as little more than a name but with suggestions of former greatness.<sup>2</sup>

Nephthys was related to another little-known goddess, the Scorpion Selket,<sup>3</sup> and there are signs of her having been an ancient sky-goddess.<sup>4</sup> Twice she appears as companion of Min,<sup>5</sup> who was a prehistoric thunderbolt-god, and in the Pyramid Texts she is related to the storm-god Seth.<sup>6</sup> A Ptolemaic text describes her as 'She who reckoneth the life-period, Lady of Years, Lady of Fate'.<sup>7</sup> The names which Plutarch gives her<sup>8</sup> are suitable to such an origin, for he says she was called *τελευτή* 'completion, accomplishment', Aphrodite, the sky-goddess of love, and *νίκη* 'Victory'. All this is suitable to a fertility-goddess of the Old Religion, and very reminiscent of Nitocris, who was said to have been *νικηφόρος* 'the Victory-Bringer', and to have accomplished the sacrifice in the fire expected of such deities, and who was later thought to have been a courtesan.<sup>9</sup> The Osiris-religion, therefore, provided for Nephthys very suitably when it made her the unfaithful wife of the out-of-date Seth, and paramour of the up-to-date Osiris.<sup>10</sup> Room was also made for her in the Sun-religion, as was done for Weneg. While he became 'the son' or 'follower of Rē',<sup>11</sup> she became 'the daughter of Rē', or 'the eye of Rē',<sup>12</sup> and was taken into the boat of the Sun, *Pyr.*, §§ 150, 210. Nephthys has been treated here in some detail, for Seshat proves to have been one of her forms. The Pyramid Texts, § 616, speak of Nephthys 'in this her name of Seshat, Mistress of Builders', and the late inscriptions again record Seshat as a form of Nephthys.<sup>13</sup> Further, Nephthys and Seshat both appear with the ancient god of the Thunderbolt-city, Letopolis.<sup>14</sup>

Signs are not wanting of Seshat's antiquity, and of her degradation during Pharaonic times. Thus, her characteristic dress all through history was the leopard-skin. This was ancient, for, though still common in the Old Kingdom, it died out afterwards, only surviving here and there ceremonially. Similarly, her symbol is still quite clearly drawn in the Third Dynasty, see Fig. 1.<sup>15</sup> In the Fifth Dynasty Sahurē shows two varieties. One badly damaged

<sup>1</sup> Schäfer, *Bruchstück altäg. Annalen*, p. 21, No. 13. Gardiner in *JEA* 24, 89 f. shows how little else we know.

<sup>2</sup> Rusch in *PW*, s.v. *Nephthys*, 2496.

<sup>3</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 1273, 1427.

<sup>4</sup> Rusch, *op. cit.*, 2495, 2496.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 2503.

<sup>6</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 153, 601, 1655. In § 601 both she and Seth are connected with *Mhnty-n-irty*, the old god of Letopolis, the city of the Thunderbolt.

<sup>7</sup> Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, II, p. 149 and Pl. 131.

<sup>8</sup> *De Is. et Os.*, § 12.

<sup>9</sup> Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, § 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 607, 952. Compare his fate with that of other unsuccessful gods quoted in Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 100, note 3. At one time he had been an important god, for in § 952 he 'supports the sky, conducts the earth, and judges the gods'.

<sup>12</sup> Rusch, *op. cit.*, 2497.

<sup>13</sup> *Edfou*, I, 237, 253; de Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, I, 121.

<sup>14</sup> Nephthys with *Mhnty-n-irty*, *Pyr.*, § 601; Seshat with Khenty-Khem in the Twelfth Dynasty, *Leps., Dkm.*, II, 119, a.

<sup>15</sup> From Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, Pl. 39, No. 51.

example, Fig. 2<sup>1</sup> retains the spirals on the stem, but differences have crept in. Instead of a duplication, the 'petals' show a midrib and veining which seem to represent feathers, or it may be perhaps leaves. In this way they make a return to the fashion of the flower of Narmer, Fig. 5, and the 'Scorpion'-king, though we cannot say at present whether that represented Seshat.<sup>2</sup> The pair of feathers has assumed a new shape, and one which is more usual for those of the sky-gods. At the same time another and notable change is introduced into them, for



FIG. 1.  
Khaḥbauseker

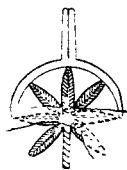


FIG. 2.  
Saḥurē

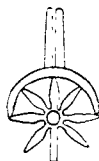


FIG. 3.  
Saḥurē

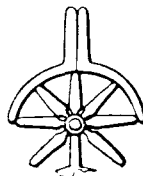


FIG. 4.  
Pepi II

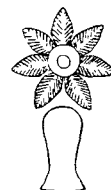





FIG. 5.  
Narmer

they are made part of the month-sign, as the outline of the latter is not continued below them. Saḥurē is copied by Neueserrē,<sup>3</sup> and thus they open the way to Pepi II's further variation. Fig. 3<sup>4</sup> retains the new shape of the pair of feathers, but does not make them part of the month-sign. It has also lost the spirals on the stem and any suggestion of veining in the 'petals', and the 'petals' themselves have become 'spear-shaped' instead of being like laurel leaves. After all there is some tendency towards the 'spear' shape in the petals of the archaic flower. Neueserrē merely shows a vague generalized laurel-leaf shape,<sup>3</sup> which is more or less regularly reproduced during succeeding ages. In the Sixth Dynasty Pepi II keeps up and even emphasizes Saḥurē's 'spear' shape of the 'petals', and the general effect of the month-sign and pair of feathers, Fig. 4.<sup>5</sup> He introduces one variation, however, which is important in the history of the degradation. Like Saḥurē and Neueserrē he no longer merely sets the feathers on top of the month-sign, but makes them part of it. He, however, goes a step farther than his predecessors, and brings the division between them right through the month-sign, cutting the whole in two. He thus prepares the way for the division of this sign into two separate horns with the meaningless uprights at their butt ends. This division had already taken place in the early Twelfth Dynasty, if the somewhat sketchy drawing in Leps., *Dkm.*, II, Pl. 119, a, is to be trusted. This became the standard shape of the symbol for the rest of Egyptian civilization, and gave rise to that version of Seshat's surname Sefkhet-ʿabw(i), which can be read 'She who has laid aside the (two) horns'.

Seshat's position kept pace with the history of her dress and the degradation of her

<sup>1</sup> From Borchardt, *Saḥurē*, II, Pl. 19.

<sup>2</sup> This seven-petalled flower, looking like that of Seshat's symbol, occurs often on Narmer's sculptures, forming part of the title of a man in close attendance on the king, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. 26 B. On Pl. 29 the flower occurs twice, once with the usual seven petals, but once with only six, and the sign following each looks like  reading 'the servant of the flower'. Fig. 5 is drawn from this plate. On Pl. 26 c, 4, the 'Scorpion'-king is labelled with the seven-petalled flower; it and the scorpion having the appearance of a title by analogy with the others. With regard to 'the servant of the flower' it is perhaps worth noting that on the Palermo Stone Seshat's priest is also called , not the usual , Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 20, No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum d. Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, II, Pl. 7, 17 (twice).

<sup>4</sup> From Borchardt, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1. The example on Pl. 5 is identical with this. The 'spear'-shape reappears once more under Tuthmosis III, Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 55, b.

<sup>5</sup> Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, Pl. 38 bottom register from which Fig. 4 is drawn. See also Pl. 36 and p. 29.

symbol. In the beginning she had been a great goddess with a full worship carried on by her priest and other officials,<sup>1</sup> and celebrated with festivals,<sup>2</sup> and had been a goddess with whose name people formed their own.<sup>3</sup> But it is little enough that we hear of all this. During historic days it is only very rarely that she receives offerings from the king;<sup>4</sup> her role had become entirely one of attendance upon him.<sup>5</sup> Her priests belonged to Memphis, the ancient capital of united Egypt,<sup>6</sup> and she was 'Before the House of the Books of the Royal Offspring'.<sup>7</sup> She records the royal name at birth,<sup>8</sup> and writes it on the sacred tree;<sup>9</sup> she records the royal titulary at the coronation;<sup>10</sup> she grants the king *sed*-festivals,<sup>11</sup> and her symbol was set up at Neweserrē's *sed*-festival,<sup>12</sup> and again at Osorkon's,<sup>13</sup> on which latter occasion she was herself present;<sup>14</sup> she keeps count of the booty brought back by the Pharaoh from foreign lands.<sup>15</sup> But her chief mission was to mark the king's life-period on the palm-stick. To cut notches, or to make marks, on a stick is the earliest of all forms of keeping a count or tally, and of itself would suggest an origin in the time before writing proper had been invented. Hence came her title 'The Original One' which is not uncommon,<sup>16</sup> 'The Original One who originated writing at the beginning',<sup>17</sup> and the statement that she 'notches, or carves (𓄿𓆎 *hṯy*), the years of the life-period'.<sup>18</sup> *Hṯy* is a word the Graeco-Roman texts not uncommonly use of her action.<sup>19</sup> Thus, like her *hry wḏb* she was primarily a tally-keeper; an early form of an account-keeper, rather than an actual scribe or clerk. So much was this her mission that it was said of her that she 'reckoneth all things on earth'.<sup>20</sup> She never seems to have been connected with wisdom and learning like Thoth, though naturally she is closely associated with her more erudite colleague, and became 'Mistress of the House of Books',<sup>21</sup> 'Lady of Writings in the House of Life'.<sup>22</sup> As has just been said, by far the most important of her activities was to grant the king *sed*-festivals and to mark his life-period on the primi-

<sup>1</sup> At least three *hm ntr* priests of hers are known in the Old Kingdom (Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, Pl. 30, col. 1), and one *hrp nš* ('*h*) *Ššst* (*op. cit.*, Pl. 43, col. 3). This last was also *hry wḏb hwt 'nh Ššst* (*op. cit.*, Pl. 31, col. 2 = Mar., *Mast.*, B. 16). Gardiner, however, would cast doubt on the existence of these titles but without giving any satisfactory reason, *JEA* 24, 83. But for the *nš Ššst* see Wainwright in *JEA* 25, 104. For the *hry wḏb* see note 15 below, and for another function carried out for her by a *hm ntr* of hers, see p. below.

<sup>2</sup> The festival of her birth is celebrated on the Palermo Stone, Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, No. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Murray, *op. cit.*, Pl. 13, col. 3 quotes three cases.

<sup>4</sup> She only figures among the groups of deities to whom offerings are made by SENSURET I, Leps., *Dkm.*, II, 119, a; a PTOLEMY, *Edfou*, I, Pl. 36, b; x, Pl. 92; Leps., *Dkm.*, IV, 25, 1.

<sup>5</sup> As indeed was the case with the official of Narmer whose title included the flower, see p. n. 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> All of those mentioned in n. 1 above come from Šakkārah.

<sup>7</sup> Sethe in Borchardt, *Saḥure*, II, pp. 76, 97, and cf. Jéquier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 29 and Pl. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, II, Pl. 55, but she is merely present at Amenhotep III's birth, Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 75, b. <sup>9</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, III, Pl. 169. <sup>10</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. 59.

<sup>11</sup> Very commonly indeed. Roeder quotes many instances in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Seschat*, 719.

<sup>12</sup> Von Bissing and Kees, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 7, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Naville, *Festival-Hall of Osorkon*, II, Pls. 2, 7; 14, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. 17, 14, 15.

<sup>15</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥure*, II, Pls. 1, 5; Jéquier, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38 = Pl. 36 and p. 29; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. 81. In the Old Kingdom one of the officials of the *hwt 'nh Ššst* was the *hry wḏb* (see n. 1 above). He seems to have been a tally-keeper like her. A *hry wḏb* appears elsewhere at the 'counting of the cattle, goats, and sheep', von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, p. 6 and *Untersuchungen z. d. Reliefs aus d. Re-Heiligtum d. Rathures* (*Abh. München*, 32, 1), 20, 21. In the royal household the *hry wḏb* was concerned with the food supplies, catered for the wants of the guests, and apportioned the king's largess whether to gods or men, Gardiner in *JEA* 24, 88. Once again the *hry wḏb* was a counter and measurer.

<sup>16</sup> *Edfou*, III, 32, 168; VI, 144, 174, 299.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 45.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 297.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 291, 522; de Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, II, 263.






<sup>20</sup> *Edfou*, I, 291.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 45.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 31.

tive palm-stick. While other gods may present the king with the tally-(palm-)sticks of *sed*-festivals, she, alone or with Thoth, marks them for him. Sometimes the chief god of the temple instructs her to mark the *sed*-festivals. Her other mission from the earliest to the latest times was to help the king to measure out the ground-plan of buildings. Hence came her title 'Lady of Builders', which she already bears in the Pyramid Texts, § 616, though the actual work of building she left to other gods, such as Khnūm and Ptah.<sup>1</sup> So even here her business was once again with reckoning and measurement.

We hear little enough of Nephthys's activities outside the Pyramid Texts and in Graeco-Roman times, but that little is very similar to what we know of her variant Seshat. Though throughout historic times Nephthys had no significance for Egyptian religion apart from her absorption into the Osiris-cycle, such mention as is made of her shows her to have been peculiarly concerned with the kingship.<sup>2</sup> This is so in some Pyramid Texts, and once in Ptolemaic times Nephthys-Seshat 'inscribes thy kingship for all eternity'.<sup>3</sup> In another Ptolemaic Text Nephthys is called 'She who reckons the life-period, Lady of Years, Lady of Fate'.<sup>4</sup>

All through the Old Kingdom, and indeed until the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seshat's symbol invariably had seven petals, leaves, rays, or whatever the objects may have been. Even after then the old seven is much more usual than the five to which the number is sometimes reduced.<sup>5</sup> Seshat is therefore very definitely related to the number seven. By the time of Tuthmosis III a new name had been evolved for her,  *Sfht-cbw*,<sup>6</sup> or as it is sometimes written,  *Sfht-cbw* with three horns.<sup>7</sup> It is, however, quite often written  *Sfh-cbw*,<sup>8</sup> and  *Sfh-cbw* without the feminine  $\circ$ .<sup>9</sup> Thus there was a good deal of doubt as to what the name really was. When spelt with two horns no doubt it had reference to the pair of inverted horns which the month-sign and feathers of her symbol had become long before. But to what did the plural (three) horns refer? It must have been to the many 'petals' of the flower of her symbol. These were seven in number, which would give the clue to one of the meanings of the *sfh* or *sfht*. It should be noted that until Ptolemaic times—and sometimes even then—the word *sfh* is written without a determinative of any sort, just as is the word for 'seven'. The name in this case would mean 'The Seven-Lady of Horns' referring to the 'petals'. But the word *sfh* 'to put off, to lay aside' can also be written without a determinative, so that when written with only two horns the name could read 'She who has laid aside the Two Horns' referring to the inverted horns. Thus the new name formed a pun referring to both parts of the symbol. In Ptolemaic times, while *sfh* still occasionally has no determinative,<sup>10</sup> it is sometimes given one, which is  $\curvearrowright$  or  $\curvearrowleft$ ,<sup>11</sup> showing that on these occasions the scribe thought of it as *sfh* 'to put off'. But by this time the most common spelling is ,<sup>12</sup> which shows clearly that the word was usually considered to

<sup>1</sup> Roeder in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Seschat*, 721.

<sup>2</sup> Rusch in *PW*, s.v. *Nephthys*, 2501.

<sup>3</sup> *Edfou*, I, 253.

<sup>4</sup> Chassinat, *Temple de Dendara*, II, p. 149 and Pl. 131.

<sup>5</sup> This may perhaps have to do with the title 'Seshat the Less' which was introduced in the New Kingdom, though the five 'petals' are occasionally used for 'Seshat the Great'.

<sup>6</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. 48, 1.

<sup>7</sup> AMENHOTEP III, Champollion, *op. cit.*, Pl. 342; SETI, Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 51 a.

<sup>8</sup> AMENHOTEP III, Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 75, b; RAMESSES II, Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 169. In Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 167, Rameses II writes the name with *sfh*, but the horns have disappeared.

<sup>9</sup> RAMESSES II, Champollion, *op. cit.*, Pl. 41, 3; PTOLEMAIC, Leps., *Dkm.*, IV, 21, d, 25, 1; *Edfou*, II, 105; III, 115, 168; VI, 295; VII, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, IV, 21, d, 25, 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Edfou*, II, 105; III, 115, 168; VI, 144, 295; VII, 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Edfou*, III, 105, 167, 348, 350; IV, 247, 299 (twice); V, 139.

mean 'seven'. This form had already been adopted by Djehō in the Thirtieth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The knowledge that Seshat-Sefekh-*abw(i)*'s name represented 'seven' filtered through to Horapollo, who records that it was written with seven letters and two fingers. This Schäfer has well shown to be intended for the seven strokes and two horns of the name *Šfh-*abwi**.<sup>2</sup>

Above her sevenfold symbol is placed a month-sign surmounted by a pair of feathers; for neither of these can I give any explanation. I can only point out that feathers are distinctive of the sky-gods of the Old Religion, such as Min, Amūn, *Wh*, Onuris, Sopd. The month-sign appears again above the symbol of another ancient deity, Ya'met (*Imt*) (cf. Fig. 6), but here there may be one, three, or four of them.<sup>3</sup> All that can be said at present is that in the beginning Ya'met's birth had been celebrated, as had Seshat's and Mafdet's. Ya'met's month-sign(s) is surmounted by a feather, but it is that of Libya while Seshat's feathers are those of the sky-gods. § 1537 of the Pyramid Texts, in which Ya'met appears, is a very curious passage having to do with counting or recognizing the king, the eldest son, the heir upon the throne of Geb.<sup>4</sup> Ya'met is here concerned with the kingship and the succession to the throne. In this she is like Seshat, who probably also recognized the heir to the throne and recorded his genealogy, for she was present at the royal birth, inscribed the royal name, and was 'Before the House of the Books of the Royal Offspring' (cf. p. 32 above.) Ya'met seems to be in some way connected with Seshat, and at any rate forms one more link between her and the ancient religion of primitive Egypt.



FIG. 6.  
Menkaurē

To this the following remarks may be added. It has been seen that Seshat was a form of Nephthys, who was an ancient sky-goddess. Nephthys was also mother of the Death-god Anubis, and wife of Seth the storm-god. Further, it will also be seen, p. 36 below, that Seshat was served by a priest of Anubis and Seth. Hence, while considering Seshat's month-sign, it may not be out of place to recall that in *Pyr.*, §§ 1453, 1467, Seth is said to have found a way by which 'he escaped his months of death', as well as his day, half months, and year of death. He, therefore, at one time must have been liable to death. In connexion with Seshat's relationship to him, to the king, and to his life-period, and with the fact that she represented Fate (p. 35), it should be noted that in these Pyramid Texts the king himself had been liable to the same death as Seth. But like Seth he escaped. The Pharaoh's escape is reflected in the classical stories of Sesostris, Anysis, and Amasis' mummy, see p. 39 below.

It has been seen that Seshat grants the life-period to the king and marks the palm-stick accordingly. One Ptolemaic scene of her marking the palm-stick is entitled 'Receiving the life-period from Sefkhet-*abwi* every day'.<sup>5</sup> Another makes her say 'I give to thee very many *sed*-festivals'.<sup>6</sup> In other scenes she says 'I inscribe thy kingship according to the *sed*-festivals of Tatenen',<sup>7</sup> and 'I give to thee great *sed*-festivals like those of Tatenen'.<sup>8</sup> To Ramesses III she says 'I write for thee many *sed*-festivals like those of Atūm';<sup>9</sup> to Ramesses IV she says 'I give to thee the life-period of Rē and the years of Atūm',<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Bouriant in *Rec. trav.* 11, 153.

<sup>2</sup> *ZÄS* 42, 72-5. See also p. 36 and n. 1 below.

<sup>3</sup> Schäfer, *Bruchstück altäg. Annalen*, p. 16, No. 8; Mariette, *Mastabas*, A, 1, B, 16 in the table of offerings; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, Pl. 41 (from which Fig. 6 is drawn) and p. 109 (10) where it represents the Theban nome; Sethe, *Pyr.*, §§ 131, 1537.

<sup>4</sup> 'They count (or recognize) thee in this thy name of *Imt*; the gods do not descend against thee in this thy name of *Imt*; thou standest then before the gods as the eldest son, as the heir, as he who is upon the throne of Geb.'

<sup>5</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, iv, 21, d.

<sup>6</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, iv, 25, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Edfou*, I, 298.

<sup>8</sup> *Edfou*, II, 89; VI, 144.

<sup>9</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. I: *Ramses III's Temple* (Chicago), Pt. I, Pl. 61.

<sup>10</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 220, d.

elsewhere he calls her 'the writer of the *sed*-festivals of Rē<sup>c</sup> and the years of eternity for ever as king'.<sup>1</sup> She says to Ptolemy Alexander 'I make thy *sed*-festivals as numerous as those of Rē<sup>c</sup>',<sup>2</sup> and to a Ptolemy she says 'I establish thy name as king for ever in the writing of my own fingers; thy years are the years of Rē<sup>c</sup> and thy life-period is the life-period of Atūm'.<sup>3</sup> In yet another place, as she marks the palm-stick she says 'I notch the command of the Lord of Eternity; I notch thy kingship to the eternity of Rē<sup>c</sup> and the years of Atūm in wearing the double crown'.<sup>4</sup> She also assures Ptolemy Alexander that she writes his annals because 'it is Rē<sup>c</sup> who has said it with his mouth'.<sup>5</sup> She assures Hatshepsut 'I give to thee years of eternity',<sup>6</sup> and to a Ptolemy Nephthys-Seshat says 'I inscribe thy kingship for all eternity'.<sup>7</sup> Seshat assures Amenhotep III 'I give to thee millions of years and life and prosperity',<sup>8</sup> and informs Ramesses II 'I cause for thee that thy years upon earth shall endure united as the number of a million'.<sup>9</sup> To a Ptolemy it is said 'She inscribes years for thee as a million',<sup>10</sup> and again for a Ptolemy she inscribes 'thine annals as millions of *sed*-festivals'.<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere Haroeris says 'I give thee Seshat writing for thee *sed*-festivals in tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, in millions of years'.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, what she gave the king was life-periods, years, *sed*-festivals, and they belonged to the old gods Tatenen and Atūm, and to the more modern Rē<sup>c</sup> who replaced Atūm and became the god of the kingship. During historic times she gave these years to tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions, and even to eternity. Suitably enough her palm-stick regularly ends in  $\text{𓅓}$  *hfn* '100,000' and  $\text{𓅓}$  *šn* 'infinity'. But had it always been so? All these pictures come from times long after the Pharaohs had succeeded in making Sun-worship the royal religion, but Seshat belonged to the Old Religion,<sup>13</sup> to the primitive time before writing proper had been invented, and she was already dying out in the Old Kingdom. The gods with whom she is associated in these scenes of the palm-stick, Atūm and Tatenen, were ancient ones also. Tatenen was so ancient as to be no more than a name to us, and being associated with Ptaḥ had probably been a god of Memphis, where Seshat's own priests lived.<sup>14</sup> Atūm was the old god whom Rē<sup>c</sup> supplanted at Heliopolis, where the sacred object was the bull-pillar.<sup>15</sup> Many of these bull-pillars in Egypt were sky-poles. What then were these years of the primitive Atūm and Tatenen which she originally gave? Her sevenfold character surely gives the clue, and, before the coming of Rē<sup>c</sup> and his eternity, she clearly brought the ancient gift of a reign of seven years, relics of which may be found throughout Pharaonic days.<sup>16</sup> In granting a period of life that is not for eternity, Seshat fixes the king's fate and decides the time of his death. This is definitely stated of her original, the ancient sky-goddess Nephthys, who is called 'She who reckoneth the life-period, Lady of Years, Lady of Fate'.<sup>17</sup> Hence Horapollo was absolutely correct when he says that the group representing Seshat's name also stands for *Moîpa* 'Fate', the goddess who appointed man's doom or death. He is also right when he goes on to say that the group also represented

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* (Chicago), II, Pl. 119 B, ll. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, IV, 45, c = *Edfou*, VI, 337, 338.

<sup>4</sup> *Edfou*, I, 291.

<sup>6</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. 59.

<sup>9</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 169.

<sup>12</sup> De Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, II, 54.

<sup>13</sup> The Old Religion dated from prehistoric Libyan days, Wainwright, *Sky-Religion* (cited hereafter as *SR*), 9-14, 23, 24, 37, 71, 74, 86, 88, 91, 106, &c., and von Bissing and Kees class Seshat among the Libyan goddesses, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs . . .* (*Abh. München*, 32, 1), 49.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 37, n. 4 below for Memphis as the home of Seshat's priests.

<sup>16</sup> *SR*, Index, s.v. 'Seven'.

<sup>17</sup> Chassinat, *Temple de Dendara*, II, 149 and Pl. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Edfou*, VI, 295.

<sup>5</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, IV, 45, c = *Edfou*, VI, 337.

<sup>7</sup> *Edfou*, I, 253.

<sup>8</sup> Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 75, b.

<sup>10</sup> *Edfou*, III, 168, l. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Edfou*, I, 291.

<sup>15</sup> *SR*, 97, 106 f.



ἄπειρον 'Infinity', for an infinity of years was what by his time she had long been giving under the influence of Rē.<sup>1</sup>

Our argument is carried further by the priesthoods of Khaṯbauseker, and further still by the information contained in the story of Sesostriis. Khaṯbauseker was priest of Seshat ḫꜥꜣ, and also carried out a function which would devolve upon a priest of hers. She was [ḫꜥꜣ] 'She who is before the House of the Foreigners',<sup>2</sup> and Khaṯbauseker was ḫꜥꜣ 'Controller of the Foreigners of Upper and Lower Egypt'.<sup>3</sup> He was therefore largely occupied in her service. His only other priest-hoods are interesting in this connexion, for they are all of deities related to her and, once more, very primitive. His very name may be significant, meaning as it does 'One glorious of appearance is Socharis', Socharis being the god of the dead at Memphis. Besides those of Seshat Khaṯbauseker's priest-hoods were two of Anubis, the Death-god, and one of the sacred symbol of Seth's nome, and another of Seth himself, the prehistoric storm-god who was put to death and was the prototype of the Pharaoh. Anubis was ancient, for he was pre-Osirian. He was also actually related both to Seshat and to Seth, for he was the illegitimate son of Nephthys,<sup>4</sup> who was wife of Seth and a form of Seshat. Khaṯbauseker was even more intimately connected with Anubis, for besides holding two of his priest-hoods he wore the double-jackal-collar, Fig. 7.<sup>5</sup> Thus, all of Khaṯbauseker's priest-hoods hang together. They were those of ancient and related deities, who were concerned with the kingship and with death or fate. Seth was actually the prototype of the fertility-king who died the death. It is significant, therefore, that besides the Anubis-collar Khaṯbauseker also wore a necklace from which hung six *ankhs* or lives.

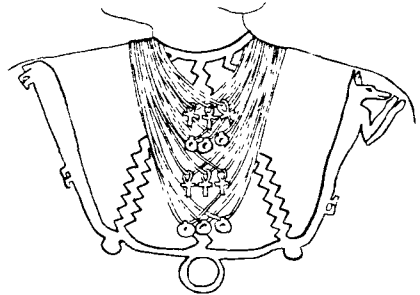


FIG. 7.

These six *ankhs* belong, then, to the priest of a number of primitive gods of the kingship, of fate, death, and the span of life, and of the old storm- and fertility-god who suffered death. They can therefore hardly be without reference to the six years' reign with death in the seventh of Mycerinus in story, and of Bocchoris in history, and with the seven *ankhs* which Anubis presents to Neweserrē.<sup>6</sup> Now Khaṯbauseker turns out to be not only priest but also executive of the goddess whose symbol included the number seven and who recorded the king's life-period. That life-period must clearly have been originally one of seven years, for which so much evidence can be adduced from Egypt.<sup>7</sup> I have shown<sup>8</sup> that in their efforts

<sup>1</sup> Horapollon, II, 29: Γράμματα ἑπτὰ, ἐν δυοῖ δακτύλοις περιεχόμενα, Μοῦσαν, ἢ ἄπειρον, ἢ Μοῖραν σημαίνει 'Seven letters enclosed in two fingers signify: Muse, or Infinity, or the Goddess of Fate', Schäfer, in *ZÄS* 42, 72 f.


<sup>2</sup> Borchardt, *Sachure*, II, Pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. Murray, *Saggarā Mastabas*, I, Pl. 1, and Sethe's remarks in vol. II, 11, and again in Borchardt's *Sachure*, II, 76 f. He translates 'borderers', 'immigrants', but the *Wörterbuch* gives 'foreigners'.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, § 14.

<sup>5</sup> From Murray, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal d. Königs Ne-user-er*, Pl. 16; *SR*, Pl. 1 facing p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> *SR*, 70, n. 1, 80-2, 83. Capart describes in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 637 f., a series of spells each of which ends: 'come and save Psammetichus from the slaughterers of Sakhmet'. The order is given by Nekhbet, the southern patroness of the kingship, at El-Kāb = Eileithyiaspolis, where Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*, § 73) says the Typhonians were put to death by fire; the spells were entitled 'Spell by 'Apehti (Seth)'; they were seven in number. Here once again seven is connected not only with the death of the king, but also with Seth, cf. *SR*, 81. In Ptolemaic times a word  *sfh* was formed meaning 'to settle (the life-period) in writing', *Wb.*, IV, 116 (1). It must have referred to the original seven-year span of life. 'The slaughterers of Sakhmet' were presumably not those authorized by the Seth-religion.

<sup>8</sup> *SR*, 65.

to escape this fate the Pharaohs had begun to turn to Rēc by the Fourth Dynasty. Hence it is that throughout Pharaonic times the life-period which Seshat records was often altered into 'the life-period of Rēc', 'the years of Rēc', 'the eternity of Rēc', and she tells the king that 'it is Rēc who hath said it with his mouth'. Further, I have shown<sup>1</sup> that when substitutes were required for the Pharaohs, they may have been sought among foreigners. The story of Busiris records the sacrifice of foreigners ending in the attempt on Herakles, who however made the king submit to the age-old fate. Seeing what Seshat was, it seems likely that her 'Controller of the Foreigners of Upper and Lower Egypt' would have been an enumerator, who kept a census of foreigners in the country. Can part of Khaḥbauseker's duties in this office have been to select a suitable substitute for the king from time to time?

There was in Egypt another priest who had sacrificial duties, and some of the wearers of Khaḥbauseker's insignia exercised his duties also.<sup>2</sup> This was the *sem*-priest. He also came into relationship with Seshat, for he had connexions with Memphis,<sup>3</sup> where her priests lived,<sup>4</sup> and he wore the leopard-skin which was her characteristic dress. The wearers of Khaḥbauseker's insignia also belonged to Memphis,<sup>5</sup> and in the New Kingdom some of them also wore the leopard-skin.<sup>6</sup> The *sem*-priest robed himself in it for the sacrifice of the bull, which was of Sethian nature, and for the ceremony of Opening the Mouth.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, like Seshat, he was intimately connected with the kingship. In fact he was often the Crown Prince, that is to say the successor to the throne.<sup>8</sup> He was thus entirely comparable to the 'brother' and would-be successor in the story who, as will be shown in the next paragraph, tried to put Sesostri to death at Pelusium. An excellent example of the successor acting as *sem*-priest to the late king and wearing the leopard-skin has just been published by Steindorff;<sup>9</sup> it shows Ay in this guise performing the ceremony for Tutankhamūn. Was Tutankhamūn's insistence on the ministrations of the *sem*-priest in any way connected with his death at apparently seven years after his return to Amūn and to Thebes?<sup>10</sup> It may be noted that it was the *sem*-priest whom, along with Amūn, Akhenaten specially hated. This Pharaoh, who embraced Sun-worship so fervently, cut the *sem-ūn-mut-f* priest out of the sculptures.<sup>11</sup> Or, as Mr. N. de G. Davies puts it, 'The erasures are the work of the monotheistic heretics,

<sup>1</sup> *SR*, 34, 35, and *cf.* 43, 44, 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup> TWELFTH DYNASTY, Seḥetepibrēc-ankhnedjem; EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, Ptaḥmose, Paḥemneter. In the NINETEENTH DYNASTY Khaḥmōwēse, Ramesses II's heir-apparent, was a *sem*-priest (*SR*, 104). Presumably he was the same as the 'Khaemwas' who wears the insignia in Erman's Fig. f, *ZÄS* 33, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *SR*, 103, 104.

<sup>4</sup> All the examples quoted in note 1, p. 32, come from Ṣaḳḳārah, as does one of the personal names formed on hers, note 3, p. 32. Of the other two names, one comes from Gīzah, and the provenance of the other is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of the Theban example, all the examples of the insignia of which the provenance is known come from Ṣaḳḳārah, and nearly all the wearers were high priests of Ptaḥ, even those whose provenance is not known. It is thus probable that they also came from Ṣaḳḳārah. However, the earliest of them, Khaḥbauseker, who also came from Ṣaḳḳārah, was not high priest of Ptaḥ, so that the insignia did not belong originally to that office, though Egyptologists are accustomed to speak as if they did.

<sup>6</sup> Schiaparelli, *Mus. Arch. di Firenze: Antichità Egizie*, 1 (1887), pp. 199 ff. No. 1505 (1790) Ptaḥmose; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 1, Pl. 36, 2, 3; Boreux, *Guide-catalogue sommaire*, 55, A 72; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 1 (Chicago), *Ramses III's Temple*, 1, Pl. 21, a, lower register.

<sup>7</sup> Very clearly expressed in Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*. Pl. 55, the line of inscription at the top left-hand corner dividing the one set of scenes from the other, and also in the scenes themselves.

<sup>8</sup> *SR*, 103-6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 38, 648, Fig. 90.

<sup>10</sup> *SR*, 83.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, v, Pls. 135, 146, 147—in Pls. 6, 7, the title *ūn-mut-f* has been cut out though the figure is left; *op. cit.*, III, Pl. 59, the *ūn-mut-f* is destroyed along with Seshat and Amūn; Leps., *Dkm.*, III, Pl. 19, 2, a, c; Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. 17; Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, Pls. 31 top, 32 top, 33 top, 35, 36; Leps., *Dkm.*, III, Pls. 36, b, 74, a; *Paheri*, Pl. 5.

to whom the names of Amūn and Mūt, and the leopard's skin worn by Rekh-mi-Rē's son as officiating priest, were obnoxious'.<sup>1</sup> Seshat also is herself sometimes hammered out of the scenes.<sup>2</sup> The explanation seems to be supplied by the connotations of the leopard-skin. It was a very ancient dress which died out after the Old Kingdom but survived here and there ceremonially. It was worn by the sacrificing priest at the funeral ceremonies, and by the goddess of fate who allotted the king his span of life, hence his time of death. Thus Seshat's characteristic dress seems to have been indicative of her fateful function.

The wearer of Khaḥbauseker's insignia was very often a royal prince, for of the ten known<sup>3</sup> four in the New Kingdom wear the side-lock of hair indicative of that rank.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand the office might be hereditary in certain families descending from father to son.<sup>5</sup> The memory of the existence of a line of priests who had such sacrificial duties is preserved in a story which was current in Egypt in Greek times. Interlocking portions of it are to be found in various authors. Herodotus, II, 102-8, calls the king Sesostris, Diodorus, I, 55, 57, calls him Sesosis, Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, §§ 98-102 calls him Sethos who is also Ramesses. Eusebius cuts the story in half, giving the first part to Sesostris whom he puts in the Twelfth Dynasty, and the second to Sethos who is also Ramesses, whom he later on calls Sethosis. Sethos who is also Ramesses he puts after the Hyksos, and with such kings as Amenophis, Armais, Ramesses Miamun, which shows that he gives the second part of the story to the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Diodorus and Eusebius say that the king had been away on his victories for nine years. This is the period which in Greek times tended to oust the old seven years.<sup>7</sup> Josephus says that he was summoned by a certain priest, whom he calls by the strange circumlocution ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου 'He who was appointed over the sacrifices of Egypt'.<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, Diodorus, and Josephus all tell us that he returned to Pelusium or Pelusian Daphnae, and Herodotus and Diodorus tell in much detail how his 'brother' and would-be successor<sup>9</sup> attempted to put him to death by fire at that place. But he escaped,<sup>10</sup> Herodotus saying that two of his sons died in the flames on his behalf, and Diodorus merely implying that all his family perished.

<sup>1</sup> *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes*, Caption to Pl. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. 59 without the leopard-skin; with it, III, Pl. 81, VI, Pl. 158; Leps., *Dkm.*, III, Pl. 75, b.

<sup>3</sup> Erman in *ZÄS* 33, 22, 23 records six; OLD KINGDOM, Khaḥbauseker, Raḥnefer; MIDDLE KINGDOM, Nebipu; NEW KINGDOM, the Berlin relief, Khaḥmōse, Paḥemneter. To these must now be added four more; Nebipu's father, Seḥetepibrē-ankhnedjem, MIDDLE KINGDOM, kindly communicated by M. Boreux, and see *Guide-catalogue sommaire*, 52, A 47; NEW KINGDOM, Paḥemneter's father, Ptaḥmose, Schiaparelli, *Mus. Arch. di Firenze: Antichità Egizie*, I (1887), 197-206, No. 1505 (1790); Murray, *Saqgara Mastabas*, I, Pl. 36, 2, 3; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, I (Chicago), *Ramses III's Temple*, I, Pl. 21, a, lower register.

<sup>4</sup> Erman's Figs. d, f, g, i.e. the Berlin relief, Khaḥmōse, Paḥemneter; Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, 198, Ptaḥmose.

<sup>5</sup> TWELFTH DYNASTY, Seḥetepibrē-ankhnedjem was succeeded by his son Nebipu; EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, Ptaḥmose was succeeded by his son Paḥemneter.

<sup>6</sup> Aucher, *Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon Bipartitum* (Venice, 1818), I, 211, 232, 233. The portion on pp. 232, 233 is an almost verbatim extract from Josephus; Syncellus's extract from Eusebius is in Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus in Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, VII, 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 111 f.

<sup>7</sup> *SR*, 79, 80.

<sup>8</sup> *SR*, 48, 102. ἱερῶν might of course only mean 'temples' as the Armenian translator of Eusebius prudently rendered it. Aucher, I, 233, but see his n. 3. On the other hand ἱερῶν is often emended to ἱερέων, making the expression read 'He who was appointed over the priests of Egypt', that is a kind of high priest of Egypt, a personage who did not exist. Moreover, if Josephus had meant this, why did he not use the usual word ἀρχιερεὺς?

<sup>9</sup> Josephus also calls the would-be successor his 'brother'.

<sup>10</sup> Josephus omits the attempted sacrifice, merely saying that 'he took his own kingdom'.

The details of the story are all pregnant with the recollection of the one-time sacrifice of the king and its concomitants. The victories expected of a fertility-king are there, as are the traditional span of life, the manner of death, the escape therefrom, the existence of substitutes, the connexion with sacrifice, and the existence of a priest charged with such a function. Further the fact that it was a close relative and would-be successor who tried to put Sesostri to death seems reminiscent of the sacrificing *sem*-priest, who was specially attached to the king's service and was often the successor to the throne. It is also reminiscent of the wearers of Khaḥbauseker's insignia, who were sometimes royal princes. Of the ten known ones, four wear the side-lock of hair indicative of that rank, and one of them, Khaḥemwēse, was the heir-apparent of Ramesses II. The escape of the king mirrors the statement, *Pyr.*, §§ 1453, 1467, 1468, that both Seth, the prototype, and the earthly king, Pepi II, escaped, and it occurs again in the story of Anysis who came forth from the ashes and earth, *Hdt.*, II, 137, 140. It also probably underlies the strange tale of Amasis who had been warned by an oracle that his successor, Cambyses, would ill-treat and burn his mummy. He therefore had another mummy buried with his own, and it was this one that suffered and not the king's, *Hdt.*, III, 16.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the incident of the death of the sons in order that the king might escape, like the story of the mummy just mentioned, proves to be based on the existence in Egypt of a system of substitutes who took the place of the Pharaoh in the fire. It is not a matter of conjecture, but of actual fact, that these substitutes existed, for even as late as a generation or two ago they still carried out their role in an attenuated form. The modern title of the substitute was Abū Naurūz.<sup>2</sup>

The results of the foregoing are as follows. Seshat had once been a great goddess with a full worship of her own, but the Old Kingdom saw the end of all this. By the Twelfth Dynasty the meaning of her symbol had been forgotten. Everything about Seshat is ancient, her dress, the fact that she kept count by the primitive method of notching a stick, an action reflected in her title 'The Original One, who originated writing at the beginning'. She appears in the company of such ancient gods as Tatenen and Atūm, Nephthys and Anubis, and the month-sign of her symbol is like that of Ya'met. During historic times she was reduced to mere attendance on the king, and there as an enumerator, whether of his years of life, of his *sed*-festivals, of his children, or of the good things he brought to Egypt. She also helped him to measure out the ground-plans of buildings. By keeping the records of the royal children she would have known the genealogies and the claim of each to the succession to the throne. Seshat was in charge of the foreigners in Egypt, probably in her capacity as enumerator, for that would enable her to number them. It may also be that from among them she found a suitable substitute for the Pharaoh at the allotted time, as Busiris did with the Cypriote foreigner and hoped to do with Herakles coming from Libya.

Seshat was a variant of Nephthys, an ancient sky-goddess, who seems to have been concerned with the kingship, and was called 'She who reckoneth the life-period, Lady of Years, Lady of Fate'.

In the New Kingdom Seshat acquired a surname of uncertain form, Sefkhet-ḥabw(i) which made punning allusion both to the seven 'petals' and to the inverted horns of her symbol. Her chief mission was to record the Pharaoh's span of life. This belonged to gods who were older than Rē, who in due time was to become the patron of the kingship. Under Rē's influence Seshat gave the king eternity, but her sevenfold symbol, and Horapollon's statement that she was *Moīpa* 'Fate', suggest that a cycle of seven years was what she originally gave. Like *Moīpa* the earliest of Seshat's priests known to us, Khaḥbauseker,

<sup>1</sup> For all this see *SR*, 26-9, 39, 57 f.

<sup>2</sup> *SR*, 59 f. and Pl. 2.

was intimately connected with death, and he wore a necklace with six *ankhs*. This is reminiscent of the reign of six years with death in the seventh of Mycerinus and Bocchoris, of the seven *ankhs* given to Neweserrē by Anubis, and of the reign of apparently seven years which Tutankhamūn enjoyed after his return to the Old Religion. Khaḥbauseker was also intimately connected with Seth, who was put to death. Seth was the storm-god of the Old Religion, and husband of Nephthys, of whom Seshat was a form. Other wearers of Khaḥbauseker's insignia are known in the Middle Kingdom and in the New Kingdom, and some of them wear Seshat's leopard-skin and were *sem*-priests. The *sem*-priest and the leopard-skin were obnoxious to Akhenaten, who fled from the Old Religion.

Memphis, the ancient capital of united Egypt, and Heliopolis near by, figure largely in the story. Seshat's priests as well as the wearers of Khaḥbauseker's insignia belonged to Memphis, as did the *sem*-priest, and Tatenen, one of the gods whose *sed*-festivals Seshat gave. Otherwise the span of life belonged to the gods of the neighbouring Heliopolis, Atūm and his successor Rē.

The Pharaoh was able to escape his year of death, as indeed Pepi II says he did. This would have entailed the death of a substitute in his stead. The memory of a sacrificing priesthood, of a span of life, of death by fire, and of substitutes for the Pharaoh enabling him to escape, survived in the classical stories of Sesostriś and of Amasis, and the escape itself survived in the statement about Anysis. The memory of the sacrifice of substitutes is also enshrined in the story of Busiris, a king who was finally made to suffer his lawful fate at the hands of Herakles, his intended victim. The substitutes themselves, however, were not merely a memory, for they survived in actual fact into modern times as the Abū Naurūz.

ON THE STATUARY OF THE OLD KINGDOM<sup>1</sup>

BY ALEXANDER SCHARFF

I CAN only deal in this paper with a few general aspects of Egyptian plastic art during the Old Kingdom. I shall not discuss the law of frontality,<sup>2</sup> which determines the composition of single figures and of groups. But I want to stress two important features characteristic of Egyptian statuary of that time. Every Egyptian statue of a man has a religious aspect; not a single one has been made to be admired by living men. Every statue was a tomb-statue with special functions in the cult of the dead, or, if it was the statue of a king, it was set up in the semi-darkness of a temple hall. Statues of kings set up in full daylight, for instance in front of a temple pylon, are not known to me before the Middle Kingdom. In the time of the Pyramids the statue was withdrawn from the eyes of men as far as possible, in the so-called *maṣtabah*-tombs, by setting it up in the statue-room, generally called the *serdāb*, which had no door at all and no connexion with the cult-room save through a slit in the wall, and not even that in all the tombs. Only here and there the tomb-statue stands in the cult-room itself; examples are mostly of the Sixth Dynasty, where, for instance in the huge tomb of Mereruka, the statue forms part of the false door.<sup>3</sup> This is a form of emancipation which we shall remark elsewhere in connexion with the Sixth Dynasty.

By putting the name of the owner on the base or the back-pillar the statue was made the representative of a definite personality. We know many statues of earlier kings which were transformed into statues of one of the Ramessides by the simple expedient of changing the inscribed name. Whatever may have been the reason for this change, we can say with certainty that the ancient Egyptians had no idea of what we call a real portrait of a person. I have dealt with this question of portraiture, which seems to me very important for the understanding of Egyptian sculpture, in an article in *Antiquity*.<sup>4</sup> Here again we see that it is impossible for us to meet Egyptian art on the ground of the conceptions of art to which we are accustomed in modern times. But even if we cannot hope to distinguish a statue of the young Raṁnofre from one of the same man in old age,<sup>5</sup> or, as we shall see presently, to attribute two statues to the same 'master-hand', as the classical archaeologists have the right to do, that does not detract from the value of Egyptian sculpture.

I have just mentioned the two statues of Raṁnofre of the Fifth Dynasty which, to my mind, are among the most perfect works of art in the whole of Egyptian sculpture. There are scholars who designate one as the 'young', the other as the 'old' Raṁnofre. Some years ago Mr. Engelbach, Keeper of the Cairo Museum, made a brilliant experiment, putting a plaster cast of the full wig of the one statue on a plaster cast of the other statue with close-cut hair.<sup>6</sup> The result is really surprising: I cannot find any difference between the two

<sup>1</sup> This paper was delivered (with lantern-slides) by the author to our Society on March 9, 1938 (see vol. 24, p. 131). Here references in the footnotes take the place of the slides, except the twelve which are reproduced in Pls. viii-x.

<sup>2</sup> H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Capart, *Memphis*, Fig. 317.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq.* 11, 174 ff. Cf. also Schäfer, *Das altäg. Bildnis* (Leipz. Ägyptol. Stud., 5).

<sup>5</sup> *JE A* 6, Pl. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Mél. Maspero*, I, 101 with Pl.

heads (see Pl. viii, 1, 2); so clearly it was the wig alone which suggested the difference in age. But I am sure we should be still more surprised if we could see the real living Ra'nofre, who certainly would not look at all like his statues. I mean by this that the wonderful statues of Ra'nofre are in my opinion a very perfect, but yet a strictly impersonal expression of Old-Kingdom art. It is the inscribing of the name and the titles which makes the statues become the personality Ra'nofre. It is a striking fact that a work of Egyptian art—relief or sculpture in the round—gains its full significance only in conjunction with the written word. And so, as I hope my English colleagues in Egyptology will agree, one cannot treat Egyptian art without some knowledge of the Egyptian language.

Returning to the question of portrait-sculpture in our sense, I do not deny that this exists in Egyptian art. Its appearance, however, always coincides with a noticeable effort to break the bonds of convention, as we see in the Twelfth Dynasty, in the art of Tell el-'Amarnah, or in the late period, when Greek art was already knocking at the door of Egypt. But within the Pyramid age, with which I am here dealing, I cannot see any piece of real portrait-sculpture. That a statement like this is not derogatory will now, I hope, be understood without further explanation.

Again, it is quite wrong and useless for us, accustomed as we are to modern art-criticism, to try to discover signatures of Egyptian artists or to recognize their individual 'manner'. In ancient Egypt the sculptor did not differ from any other craftsman; thus, the sculptor of a statue is shown, even in the New Kingdom, sitting in the workshops of Amūn at Thebes together with the joiner and the goldsmith, without pretending to be any better than his colleagues.<sup>1</sup> Signatures of artists, in the modern sense, are completely absent in Egypt. For example, several of the famous heads from El-'Amarnah, now in the Berlin Museum, are said to come from the workshop of a sculptor named Djehutnose, but that does not mean that this sculptor made all those wonderful heads himself; this so-called signature is really only a kind of label for the house in which the heads were found. The name of Djehutnose occurs only once on a small object found in the house, so that actually it is not even certain that he was the owner of this sculptor's workshop.

The same applies to the frequently cited examples of artists in the Old Kingdom. In the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Ptahhotpe at Šakḳārah, for instance, we find behind a scene of sailors fighting with sticks a dignified person called 'overseer of sculptors', sitting in a boat with many good things to eat and drink in front of him.<sup>2</sup> It may be that this 'overseer of sculptors' really made the reliefs or statues in the tomb, but his representation of himself with his opulent meal was doubtless not made because he wanted to show himself as a famous artist, but in order to show his devotion and gratitude to his lord, the owner of the tomb. Another relief of the same kind shows a man sitting in front of an easel on which are painted the names of the three Egyptian seasons,<sup>3</sup> certainly as abbreviations for some pictures of out-door life in the various seasons, such as we know from the Sun-temple of the Fifth Dynasty. This relief is in the well-known Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Mereruka. As no name is written above it, the most simple and the most Egyptian explanation of the picture is that Mereruka himself is represented making draughts for some reliefs in his tomb. There is no ground at all for seeing in this picture the artist of Mereruka's tomb, as for instance von Bissing does.<sup>4</sup>

To end these general remarks I repeat that Egyptian sculpture is as impersonal as the Egyptian artist. But it is not to be appreciated any the less for that.

<sup>1</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 73.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, *ZÄS* 31, 97, with Pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, III, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ZÄS* 64, 137. Cf. A. Herman in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 6, 150.

In the second part of this paper I wish to consider some special questions relating to Old-Kingdom sculpture and to point out various tendencies in the art of the Third to Sixth Dynasties. The superficial observer is, as a rule, so prejudiced by what he regards as the stiffness of Egyptian sculpture that he does not see how much life and movement is expressed within the scope of the strict frontality which Egyptian sculpture demands. Egyptian art has had its development through the ages like all other kinds of art. The characterization of the style of every period seems to me our task at the moment, and much work has to be done in this direction before we are able to distinguish properly between the different periods by means of stylistic analysis. Then we can hope to place undated statues with more certainty than we do now, and it will be impossible to hesitate between the Middle Kingdom and the Roman period, as happened in a conversation I overheard once in Cairo.

We must try, therefore, no longer to treat Old-Kingdom sculpture as a whole, but to distinguish a Third-Dynasty style from a Fourth-Dynasty style, and so on. Having collected our stylistic evidence from works whose date is well established, we shall then be able to add undated works to each group with a good deal of certainty. This has to be done with architecture, reliefs, and painting, as well as statuary. When we compare our results we shall soon find, as one might expect, that the same tendencies occur in all three kinds of art in any one period. Dr. Junker, in a very good article, has defined such types of architecture for the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Dynasties.<sup>1</sup> I should like to quote some of his material, adding examples of relief which show corresponding tendencies. It will then be easy to consider statuary under the same aspects.

The ground-plan of king Djoser's temple, built at Šakḳārah in the Third Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> shows that the final form of Egyptian architecture had not yet been found. The main temple lies to the north, the main entrance, through a colonnade, lies far away in the south-east corner, while buildings are scattered about here and there without the organic planning so regularly found in the following dynasty and after. However much we admire the first great stone building in the world we must point out that the aspirations of King Djoser and his famous architect Imḥōtep exceeded their ability.

Quite different is the ground-plan of the Fourth-Dynasty temple of Chephren.<sup>3</sup> Here Egyptian architecture has found its best and clearest expression. The temple is situated in front of the pyramid to the east; the division into the three chief parts seems quite clear; from the entrance-temple at the foot of the desert-hill the corridor leads straight up to the main temple. This scheme, which varies only in detail, was adhered to all through the Old Kingdom, so that there is no need to quote other examples from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.

Looking at a well-founded reconstruction of a building belonging to King Djoser's temple-complex,<sup>4</sup> we are struck by the smallness of the stones, which seem to be petrified bricks, and the strange stone columns, the first attempt of this kind in Egyptian architecture. Here, even if the architect did conceive a column as an entity with a clearly defined function, he did not dare to use it independently, but connected it with the wall like a pilaster. And so again we find as a characteristic feature of the Third Dynasty interesting attempts in this or that direction, but not yet a well-fixed style.

As Dr. Junker has pointed out, the architecture of the Fourth Dynasty forms a distinct contrast to the experiments which preceded it, as the reconstruction of the pillared hall in the Sphinx-temple of King Chephren shows us.<sup>5</sup> One cannot but feel the magnificence of this room with its enormous granite blocks and the square granite pillars instead of columns.

<sup>1</sup> ZÄS 63. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Firth-Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, II, Pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal d. Königs Chephren*, Leipzig, 1912, Bl. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Firth-Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 79 A.

<sup>5</sup> Hölscher, *op. cit.*, Bl. 5.



No relief, no inscription disturbs the imposing tranquillity of the room, the sole ornamentation of which consisted of the marvellous statues of the king.

The Fifth Dynasty brings in a new change of style, which in fact really began at the end of the Fourth, about the reign of Mycerinus. In the reconstructed hall of the temple of King Saḥurē<sup>1</sup> we find well-constructed columns supporting the roof and the walls are covered with painted reliefs, the whole expressing a gaiety and brightness in complete contrast with all that went before.

The architecture of the private tombs, the maṣṭabahs, shows similar features. For instance, in the Third Dynasty we have big brick maṣṭabahs,<sup>2</sup> and at the end of this period, at Mēdūm, brick maṣṭabahs with a stone chamber.<sup>3</sup> Here again we see the beginning of architecture in stone. The maṣṭabah of the time of Kings Cheops and Chephren at Gīzah, so excellently described by Junker,<sup>4</sup> is as monumental as the pyramid of Cheops itself. Huge, perfectly rectangular blocks are used and no inner room is allowed to break up the massiveness of the building. The perpendicular shaft pierces the maṣṭabah and the rock to a depth of about 60 feet, leading to the sarcophagus-chamber with the square limestone sarcophagus without decoration or inscription. As no separate room for a statue was provided in the maṣṭabahs of this type, a limestone head was set at the entrance of the sarcophagus-room.

As I pointed out in connexion with temple architecture, the change began about the reign of Mycerinus. The usual type of the later, Fifth-Dynasty, maṣṭabah shows the chapel with false door and painted reliefs on the walls inside the maṣṭabah.<sup>5</sup> Here we also find the room for the statue, called *serdāb*, which is sometimes connected with the chapel by a small slit in the wall. This type is the most familiar, but even here one finds that almost every tomb differs a little from the others, and it is quite unjustifiable to speak of 'the maṣṭabah' of the Old Kingdom as if it were a uniform type of building through all four dynasties.

Here we have also to mention the Sixth Dynasty, for the tombs in the cemetery of the courtiers at this period show two distinct lines of development. On the one hand we have the largest maṣṭabahs, as for instance that of Mereruka at Ṣaḳḱārah,<sup>6</sup> containing so many rooms that one can hardly recognize the original maṣṭabah form. On the other hand, there are tombs which are degenerating, brick-building reappears, and all the beautiful order of the regular maṣṭabah-streets is given up.<sup>7</sup> In this contrast between the very rich and the very poor we recognize the disintegration of Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom.

Relief and painting show the same features. In the Third Dynasty we have very good stone reliefs from the Djeser buildings,<sup>8</sup> and the wooden panels of Ḥesirē<sup>9</sup> are no less excellent, but we also find mural painting in Ḥesirē's tomb.<sup>9</sup> In Mēdūm, finally, we have in one and the same tomb stone relief, mural painting (*e.g.* the famous geese), and a sort of painting effected by inlaying coloured pastes in the stone.<sup>10</sup> This last technique was only an experiment and so far as we know was never used in later tombs. Here, too, we arrive at the same conclusion: the artists of the Third Dynasty made various experiments without achieving a definitive style.

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal d. Königs Sahure*, 1, Leipzig, 1910, Bl. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, Cairo, 1913, Pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Junker, *Giza I*, especially Pl. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Junker, *Giza II*, p. 135, Fig. 12.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Tomb of Mereruka*, 1, Oriental Inst. of the University of Chicago, 1938.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Junker, *Vorbericht Giza*, 1927, with map.

<sup>8</sup> Firth-Quibell, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 15-17 and 40-2.

<sup>9</sup> Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pls. 29-31 (panels), Pls. 7, 1-2; 8 ff. (paintings).

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.*, Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. 23 (inlays), 28 (paintings).



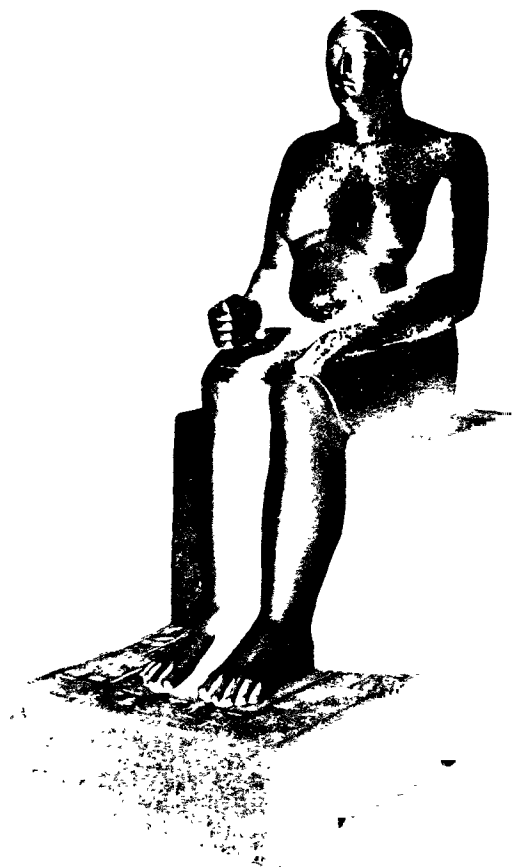
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1. Head of the Raḥnofre statue (5th Dyn.) No. 19 (*CCG*), from Ṣaḳḳārah; Cairo.
2. Head of the Raḥnofre statue No. 18 (*CCG*; from Ṣaḳḳārah; Cairo), with the wig of No. 19.
3. The shipbuilder Betjmes (3rd Dyn.), from Gizah; British Museum.
4. The prince Ḥemyun (4th Dyn.), from Gizah; Hildesheim.



The architecture of the Fourth Dynasty did not allow scope for relief and painting, therefore our material is scanty. There exist very few reliefs dated with certainty to the reigns of Cheops and Chephren,<sup>1</sup> and the old opinion that every relief found at Giza should be dated as 'good Fourth-Dynasty' has definitely to be given up. The maṣtabahs of this period have only one place on the outside where a rectangular relief is put in, namely at the offering-place, where a slab of this kind shows, in rather high relief, the owner of the tomb seated at the offering-table.<sup>2</sup> The rectangular arrangement of the offerings with their numbers on the right side recalls the rectangular nature of the whole building.

The mass of reliefs in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties is so large that it is impossible to go into details here, but I will try by a single example to explain the difference in style between these two dynasties. I choose the dancing-scene, though other themes, for instance bulls being led to slaughter, would show the same thing.<sup>3</sup> In the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Ti we see dancing-girls all together in the same position, walking rather than dancing, with all their arms bent upwards in the same way<sup>4</sup>—it is as if the steady rhythm of an *adagio* or an *andante* were pulsating through the picture. Now look at the dancing-girls of the Sixth Dynasty. They are dancing a *furioso*, throwing one leg up, bending their backs nearly down to the floor.<sup>5</sup> Still more important is another picture of the Sixth Dynasty, showing three dancers in the same movement as in the tomb of Ti, but the fourth (second in the row) is dancing quite a different figure.<sup>6</sup> This dancer disturbs the usual symmetry, so that we do not now feel the harmonious rhythm, so characteristic of the pictures of the Fifth Dynasty. In the destruction of symmetry and rhythm I see the special features of the art of the Sixth Dynasty, which, on the other hand, added some new types<sup>7</sup> to those created by the older artists. This we shall see similarly later on in sculpture in the round.

Sculpture in the round was the last to obtain its classical Egyptian form. At the beginning of dynastic times, during the First and Second Dynasties, we see very crude and badly proportioned works, but even here we admire the various attempts to depict the human figure in different positions. Perhaps the oldest human figure from the Dynastic Period is the one from Hierakonpolis of a man kneeling on one knee,<sup>8</sup> while the well-known granite figure in Cairo (CCG No. 1, from the end of the Second Dynasty) is kneeling on both knees.<sup>9</sup> The sitting figures in Berlin<sup>10</sup> and Naples<sup>11</sup> (of about the Second Dynasty) remain inarticulate. The figure of the king seems much more advanced stylistically in these early times. The sitting statuettes of King Khaṣekhem in Cairo<sup>12</sup> and Oxford<sup>13</sup> have an almost classical aspect; only the strange figures of the slain enemies on the base show the last vestiges of the prehistoric age.

At the beginning of the Third Dynasty the sitting figure of King Djeser, found by Firth in the *serdāb* close to the Step-pyramid,<sup>14</sup> stands out as a real masterpiece. In this figure Egyptian statuary has reached its first high-water mark.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Junker, *Giza I*, Pl. 17 (from the maṣtabah of Hemiūn).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. 26-7, 29; Lutz, *Egn. Tomb Steles* (*Univ. of California Publs.*, *Egn. Archaeol.*, 4), 1927, Pls. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Steindorff, *Grab d. Ti*, Pl. 12 (5th Dyn.), with Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, Pls. 44-5 (6th Dyn.).

<sup>4</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, Pl. 53 (Kagemni); *cf.* also Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, III, 29 (Mereruka).

<sup>6</sup> Junker, *Vorbericht Giza*, 1926, Pl. 6b.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.*, Mereruka with a female harpist (Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, III, 5) or the scene wrongly called 'sudden death' (v. Bissing, *Denkmäler äg. Skulptur*, Pl. 18 B) which has been much better explained by Schäfer in *ZÄS* 73, 102.

<sup>8</sup> Quibell-Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, Pl. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *ZÄS* 56, Pl. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Le Musée égyptien*, I, Pl. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Von Bissing, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Quibell-Green, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Scharff in W. Otto's *Handbuch d. Archäol.*, Pl. 54, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Firth-Quibell, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 28-30.

The statues of private people of the Third Dynasty until the beginning of the Fourth are on the same level. Among these are the well-known 'shipbuilder' of the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (Pl. viii, 3), and the statue of Metjen in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> The figures are more slender, the squareness—the outstanding feature, as we saw, in the time of Cheops and Chephren—is almost complete and is well accentuated by the cubical form of the seat. Only the seat of the woman's figure at Turin<sup>3</sup> has a small back, and the structural detail of the cane-chair of this lady and of the 'shipbuilder' shows clearly that these figures do still belong to the archaic period. In spite of their evident stiffness the statues of Sepa and Nes in the Louvre are interesting in several respects.<sup>4</sup> Most books give only two statues, but there are really three, for Sepa, the man, is represented in two almost identical statues. I think we must consider the three together as a group; if they had been made later they would have been cut out of one block of limestone. The lack of coherence, in what would be the attempt to show three single figures together as a group, seems to me again to be a characteristic feature of Third-Dynasty art, agreeing well with the others. Ra-hotpe and Nofret from Mēdūm,<sup>5</sup> whose colouring has been so exceedingly well preserved, must also be regarded as a group like the two Sepas and Nes. They show the same high standard in this type of work as does the statue of Djeser among royal statues.

Coming to the Fourth Dynasty, the reigns of Cheops and Chephren, we have to speak first of the statues of the kings; well proportioned and noble, they suggest divinity rather than royalty. The most beautiful perhaps is the diorite figure of King Chephren with the protecting falcon behind the head,<sup>6</sup> praise of which would be superfluous. The Chephren statues are by no means colossi but of moderate size, sometimes even very small. The head of king Djedefrē in the Louvre belongs to the same category.<sup>7</sup> Mycerinus, towards the end of the dynasty, begins to enlarge the king's figure,<sup>8</sup> and in the granite head of Weserkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, now in the Cairo Museum, we have the earliest known remains of a colossus.<sup>9</sup>

Just as we found no room for reliefs in the maṣtabahs and temples, so we do not find statue-rooms in them. Therefore the number of statues certainly dated to the reigns of Cheops and Chephren is extremely small, and a warning must be given against assigning statues to this period unless they are dated definitely by the circumstances of the discovery. The best example is the statue of the corpulent prince Hemyun in the Pelizaeus Museum at Hildesheim (Pl. viii, 4),<sup>10</sup> whose relationship to Cheops was ascertained by Junker. This statue in its compactness shows unmistakably all the main features of the style which we discussed in connexion with the architecture of this period. The prince is certainly by no means an Adonis, but we must remember that from the Egyptian point of view corpulence denotes a respectable age and wealth.

The other characteristic kind of sculpture in the round of this period is the limestone head<sup>11</sup> placed at the entrance of the sarcophagus-room, as mentioned above. Such heads are not parts of statues but replace them. The impressive simplicity of their conception fits in excellently with the imposing picture of the art of this great time.

The line of distinction between two styles of art does not always correspond exactly

<sup>1</sup> Budge, *Egn. Sculptures in the B.M.*, Pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch d. Archäol.*, Pl. 72, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Steindorff, *Die Kunst d. Ägypter*, 1928, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue*, I, Pl. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Handbuch d. Archäol.*, Pl. 71, 1; the head alone. Steindorff, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclop. fotogr. de l'art*, I, 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. MFA* 33, 21, Fig. 8.

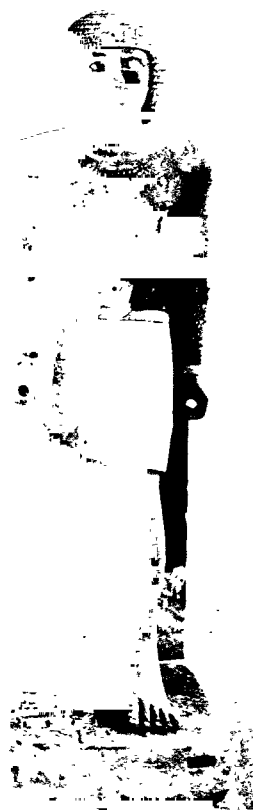
<sup>9</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 29, Pl. 1 of C. M. Firth's art., pp. 64 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Junker, *Giza I*, Pls. 19–22.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. 12–14.



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1. The brewer Nefer (5th Dyn.), from Ṣakkārah : Cairo.
2. The director of cemetery-workers Ptaḥiruka (5th Dyn.), from Gīzah : Hilde-heim.
3. The physician Nṯankhrē (5th Dyn.), from Gīzah : Cairo.
4. King Pepi II as a boy (6th Dyn.), from South Ṣakkārah : Cairo.



to the historical periods, marked in Egypt by the dynasties; as we have already seen, the style of the Fifth Dynasty begins in fact with Mycerinus of the Fourth. The only exception to this rule is the colossal head of King Weserkaf which would have been assigned to the Fourth Dynasty if it had not been found in that king's temple. The groups, however, agree with our rule that the style of the Fifth Dynasty began in reality under Mycerinus.

The earliest dated 'group', that is, two persons cut out of one stone, which is known to me, represents King Mycerinus and his queen.<sup>1</sup> As happened with many things in ancient Egypt, the king was the first to bring out a new type, which was taken up by private people soon afterwards. In this group the king seems to descend, as it were, from his divine throne and show himself on a level with his subjects: a good parallel is offered by Amenophis III in the New Kingdom, also at the end of a great dynasty. The group of Mycerinus seems to be much more closely linked with the mass of private groups in the Fifth Dynasty than with the Chephren statues of the Fourth. That this group really is one of the oldest that have come down to us is obvious because we have in a publication by Chassinat<sup>2</sup> the lower part of a sort of group found by the French at Abu Rawāsh, showing King Djedefrē<sup>3</sup>, from the first part of the Fourth Dynasty, with his wife; here the king is the main person, while his wife, a very small figure, is crouching close to his leg, in fact she appears to us as a mere ornament.

Thus I assume that the group of plastic figures was an innovation under the reign of King Mycerinus. The considerable number of groups representing the same king together with Hathor and one of the nome-deities, all found by Dr. Reisner in the pyramid temple of this king,<sup>3</sup> points in the same direction. I think it will be agreed that we have no longer any right to assign undated groups of private people to the Fourth Dynasty, as is often done.

The art of the Fifth Dynasty marks a culmination as regards both the architecture of the maṣtabahs and that of the pyramid temples—notably at Abūṣīr—with all their magnificent reliefs. The great variety in the statues of private people agrees with this, but, strange to say, there are no statues of kings to confirm it. This is a very curious fact indeed, and the lack of statues of kings cannot be explained as due to chance, for the pyramid-temples and the Sun-temple of the Fifth Dynasty were very carefully excavated and yet did not yield a single statue of a king. Taking the statuary of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties together, therefore, we must conclude that a great change took place: while in the Fourth the statues of kings predominate, in the Fifth they disappear almost completely, giving place to a mass of private statues. A statue of King Neweserrē<sup>4</sup>, for example, is a very poor one, and a few others, similarly crude in style, are still worse.<sup>5</sup> These bad statues of the great kings of this dynasty would seem to be prophetic of the coming decay of the Egyptian kingdom towards the end of the pyramid age.

To gain an idea of the very high standard of the sculpture of this period we have only to deal with the private statues. Here we see those life-size figures like the two Ra'nofres mentioned above, pp. 41–2, or the statue of Tjeyey ('Ti') as a noble, self-confident high official or priest.<sup>6</sup>

It seems to me that the better statues in this period were made for the tombs at Ṣakḳārah, the second-rate ones for those at Gīzah. To get an impression of quality we need only compare, for instance, the small statue of the brewer Nefer with his intelligent head (Pl. ix, 1)<sup>7</sup> and the stiff figure of Ptahiruka at Hildesheim (Pl. ix, 2),<sup>8</sup> or the wonderful upper

<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *Mycerinus*, Pls. 54–60.      <sup>2</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 25, p. 59, Fig. 2.      <sup>3</sup> Reisner, *op. cit.*, Pls. 38–46.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Musée égyptien*, I, Pl. 10.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 11 (Menkauhor); Legrain, *Statues (CCG)*, I, Pl. 2, No. 42004.

<sup>6</sup> Steindorff, *Grab d. Ti*, Pls. 1, 142–3.

<sup>7</sup> Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst d. alten Orients (Propyläen-Kunstgesch.)*, 2nd edn., p. 243, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Roeder, *Denkmäler d. Berl.-Museums*, p. 51, No. 417.



part of the statue of a young lady from the Carnarvon Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,<sup>1</sup> and generally, but without convincing evidence, dated to the Fourth Dynasty, and the wife of the Hildesheim man.<sup>2</sup> One feels at once the difference between first-rate work and work that is not even second-rate.

From the Fifth Dynasty onwards we have a very great number of statues of men in action. To take first the type of the scribe, we sometimes find the owner of the tomb represented in this attitude;<sup>3</sup> in this group I would place the unique scribe in the Louvre,<sup>4</sup> which is perhaps the most magnificent work of art of the whole of the Old Kingdom. On the other hand we see during the Fifth Dynasty the beginning of the custom of putting in the *serdāb* statues of servants performing the functions of scribe, baker, brewer, etc. For this large group of male and female servant-statues it will serve to quote one example: a brewing-woman straining the barley in preparation for brewing.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the Old Kingdom the servant-figures are becoming smaller; they are usually made of wood and gradually develop into the so-called servant-figures of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

The group of man and wife with or without children is quite common in the Fifth Dynasty and the variety of attitudes is simply enormous. I quote only two examples of married couples: one standing group is interesting, because the woman as well as the man has her left leg forward,<sup>7</sup> they both seem to be coming towards us hand in hand. The sitting group of red granite,<sup>8</sup> now in Berlin (Pl. x, 2), was formerly dated by von Bissing to the archaic period on account of the stiffness and crudeness of the figures. But the hollow between the two figures points to the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>9</sup> and on its arrival in Berlin it turned out that the man was the same person as the scribe Dersenedj, whose granite statue (Fifth Dynasty) has been in the Berlin Museum for a long time.<sup>10</sup> Thus this group teaches us, as many other statues do, that stiffness is by no means always a characteristic feature of archaic work.

Nothing shows better than the groups that Egyptian sculpture is not merely conservative and that the number of plastic types is really abundant. The group, very much in favour in the Fifth Dynasty, was later on used to represent any two or more persons or even, strangely enough, one and the same person, perhaps the man at different ages.<sup>11</sup> For example, we find a queen-mother embracing her daughter<sup>12</sup> or a double statue of the same man of which a noteworthy feature is the symmetrical posture of the arms (Pl. x, 3).<sup>13</sup> Finally I add here a reference to the well-known group of Meryettefes, represented twice with her scribe (not her son), a masterpiece in the Leiden Museum.<sup>14</sup> In every history of art this group will be found dated to the Fourth Dynasty. I have for a long time doubted this dating and so I was very pleased when Dr. van Wijngaarden of Leiden found out that the name of the queen Meryettefes, usually connected with the Fourth Dynasty, was put on later and that therefore the lady does not represent a queen at all. Now van Wijngaarden shares my opinion and dates this famous group, together with similar ones, to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, it is in this dynasty, so highly important for the whole of Egyptian statuary, that

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 4, Pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Roeder, *op. cit.*, No. 418.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, Junker, *Vorbericht Giza*, 1914, p. 37, Pl. 9, the scribe Heti, now at Hildesheim.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclop. fotogr. de l'art*, I, 29-31.

<sup>5</sup> Steindorff, *Die Kunst d. Ägypter*, p. 190, right.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 292.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Von Bissing, *op. cit.*, Pl. 4; see further Anthes in *Berliner Museen*, vol. 55, pp. 90 f., Figs. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Cf.*, *e.g.*, the scribe in the Louvre, who has gaps between the elbows and the body.

<sup>10</sup> Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> Called 'Pseudo-groups' by Boreux in *Mél. Maspero*, I, 805.

<sup>12</sup> *Bull. MFA* 34, 4 f.

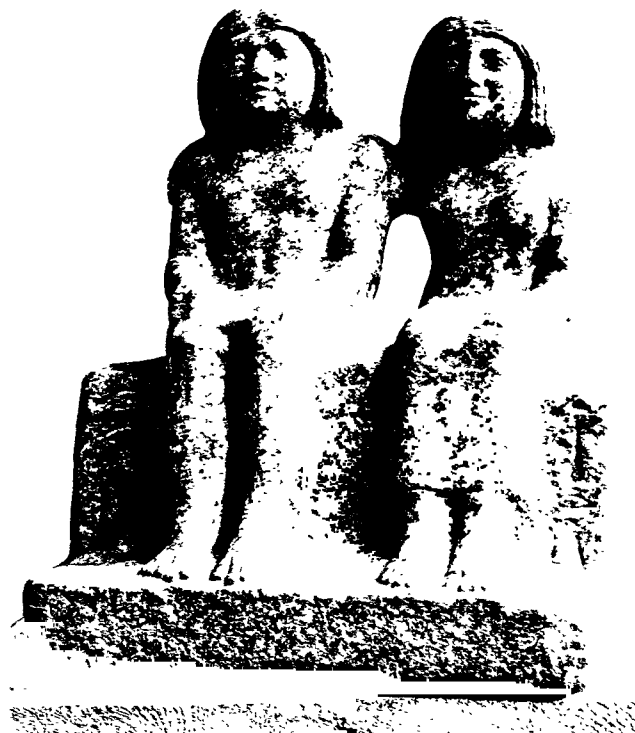
<sup>13</sup> Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, I, Pl. 72.

<sup>14</sup> Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>15</sup> *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, N.R., 17, 1.



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1. Wooden group (5th Dyn.): Louvre
2. Granite group (5th Dyn.), from Gîzah: Berlin.
3. Double statue of Mer-sutankh (5th Dyn.), from Gîzah: Cairo.
4. The dwarf Seneb with his family (6th Dyn.), from Gîzah: Cairo.



we first meet fairly large wooden statues. They continue the style of the small ivory statues, such as the king from Abydos in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> or the minute Cheops in Cairo.<sup>2</sup> It is characteristic of wooden statues that they were always made in pieces; the arms and legs were carved separately and then fastened to the body. There was thus more scope for that liveliness which makes the wooden statues especially attractive. The only examples I need cite here, the famous Shēkh el-Beled<sup>3</sup> and the woman who is probably his wife,<sup>4</sup> do not require any comment. Less well known is the wooden group in the Louvre,<sup>5</sup> which seems to represent a very high standard of work in spite of all the damage it has suffered (Pl. x, 1).

Turning now to the statues of the Sixth Dynasty we must notice first that the variety of types continues, and perhaps many would not see any difference at all between the statuary of the Fifth Dynasty and that of the Sixth. Even the opinion that plastic art is deteriorating during the Sixth Dynasty is only partly true. It agrees with the fact mentioned before that the tombs to a large extent are becoming smaller and are being built of bricks; the population of the Sixth Dynasty had become poor. It would be useless to quote many examples of very bad Sixth-Dynasty statuary;<sup>6</sup> it is sufficient to say that it has been the rule to date any inferior Old-Kingdom statue without hesitation to the Sixth Dynasty. Ugly and Sixth-Dynasty mean the same to many people. Yet there are other aspects which must not be overlooked. As mentioned above, apropos of pictures of dancing girls, we find in the Sixth Dynasty a strange new type and a kind of reaction against the prevalent laws of art, for instance against symmetry; we find this also in the statuary. The very fine copper statue of King Pepi I with his son is quite a new invention of that period.<sup>7</sup> Or look at a small figure of King Pepi II in alabaster;<sup>8</sup> the king—his name is found on the figure—is represented as a naked boy sitting on the ground with his finger to his mouth like the hieroglyph for 'child' (Pl. ix, 4). I can hardly imagine that such a curious figure could have been created in the Fourth or the Fifth Dynasty. This type of boy seems to have become common, for we have a very fine wooden figure of this kind at Berkeley, California, found by Dr. Reisner in the sarcophagus-room of a Sixth-Dynasty tomb at Gīzah.<sup>9</sup> Another new and strange attitude is shown by a *serdāb*-statue from a Sixth-Dynasty maṣṭabah at Gīzah, found by Junker.<sup>10</sup> It is a sitting figure, similar to that of the scribe, but asymmetrical (Pl. ix, 3). It looks to me as if the sculptor had tried to catch the actual movement of sitting down, as if it were a snapshot. The next moment the man would have been sitting on the ground like the usual scribe.

A closer study of the vast number of groups ought to yield further pieces attributable to the Sixth Dynasty, especially on account of their asymmetrical composition. As is only to be expected with any living art, we cannot draw a hard and fast line between one period and another without finding a good number of overlaps. For instance, the Cairo Museum possesses a group, in spite of its incompleteness a most delightful work, which I should date without hesitation to the Sixth Dynasty on stylistic grounds, if it were not dated by the inscription to the Fifth.<sup>11</sup> Its four figures are spaced quite irregularly on the base; symmetry has disappeared, but this very fact gives a special attractiveness to the group.

But there are also certainly dated groups which show the peculiarities of the Sixth Dynasty mentioned above, for instance, the amusing group of the dwarf Seneb with his

<sup>1</sup> JEA 17, Pl. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 13.

<sup>3</sup> JEA 6, Pl. 27, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 27, 2, and Pl. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Encycl. fotogr. de l'art*, I, 16.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Borchardt, *Statuen (CCG)*, Pl. 39, No. 175; Pl. 41, No. 191; Pl. 45, No. 219.

<sup>7</sup> Quibell-Green, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 50-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 27, Pl. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Lutz, *Egyptian Statues (Univ. of California Publications, Egn. Archaeol., 5)*, 1930, Pl. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Junker, *Vorbericht Giza*, 1929, Pls. 9-10.

<sup>11</sup> Schafer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 242, 2.

wife and two children (Pl. x, 4).<sup>1</sup> The deformed man is represented with all the realism of the time; in contrast with this it seems comical to see the two children on the spot where a normal sitting figure would have its own legs. This group, which we find so exceedingly attractive, was found standing in the limestone box which may be seen behind the group; nobody had seen the group, nobody had taken delight in it, since it was put with its limestone box into the tomb. It was only intended to play its part in the ceremonies of the dead. It is important, I think, to stress here once again the enormous discrepancy between our modern relation to sculpture and that of the ancient Egyptians to their works of art.

This paper is already very long, but the Old Kingdom was a very long period, and to get a colourful and lively picture of its sculptural development I have had to go into a great many details. It will be a great pleasure to me if I have been able to demonstrate that the art of the Pyramid Age was not at all monotonous, and that within the limits of frontality we find changes, innovations, experiments—in short as lively a development as we are accustomed to recognize in the art of European countries.

<sup>1</sup> Junker, *Vorbericht Giza*, 1927, Pls. 2-3.

## NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, ON THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI

By ERNST RIESS

SINCE Preisendanz's edition of the Greek Magical Papyri is probably destined to remain for a long time the definitive publication of these interesting religious documents, it is fitting to show our gratitude for the marvellous industry of this undertaking by contributing our mite towards improving and elucidating the text, as far as is in our power. With this purpose I present the following remarks.<sup>1</sup>

1, 68. Neither Pr.'s conjecture ὕστερον nor Hopfner's πρότερον can be right. It is doubtful whether τάχος belongs to λιθουργήσας; it is better joined to γλῶφε. Three or four letters are missing, but it is not necessary for -ερον to be a comparative ending; it may form part of some noun.

83. καὶ εἰς στενὸν τόπον. Even if Eitrem's κατάστεγον be unacceptable, Pr.'s translation 'in a narrow room' makes no sense. Cannot στενὸς τόπος be the same as στενωπός, 'angiportum'?

196 f. contain Jewish reminiscences: ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπανόμενος, ᾧ αἱ Δόξαι παρεστήκασιν, ὃ τὸ ῥίζωμα διακατέχων, ὄνομα καθηγιασμένον, etc. Pr. translates ῥίζωμα 'root'. Empedocles used the word with the meaning of 'element'. In our passage it may signify 'foundation', for which the Septuagint employs θεμέλιον; cf. Ephes. iii, 18: ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι; Coloss. ii, 7: ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ ἐποικοδομούμενοι.

11, 25. Something is wrong here. Incense and pine cones can be offered (ἐπίθνε) on a thymiaterion; but how can that be done with two cocks? There is also a corruption in line 28 κοιμῶ, unless the expression ἐν δεξιᾷ means 'on the right side of the bed', so that the *crux ansata* is drawn on the earthen floor (cf. ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ). For it is manifestly impossible for a person to lie along its *vertical* line.

31. ἐν πίννῃ λι(τῆ), Pr. The emendation is tempting, but his translation of the expression 'with a feather (or pen)' cannot be right. It is true that there are examples of ἐν instrumental (Pape, *Lexikon*, I, 822), but mostly in connexion with the plural number, where the transition from the local use was easy. Now πίννη also denotes a mussel (*Pelecypodon Pinna*). The *smooth* mollusc would be the shell of the animal, after the so-called *byssus*, 'a silky substance in the form of threads . . . fine enough to be woven into a fabric' (Parker-Haswell, *Textbook of Zoology*, 685) has been removed, and on this the writing is to be done. From ll. 31-2 it is clear that these names are not the same as those to be inscribed on the laurel leaves.

100. The *ephesia grammata ἀραραχα ἡφθισικηρε* have been incorporated into the verse. Therefore, in spite of Pr., it seems to me that ἡ φθισίκηρε is intended here as the Greek translation of the preceding complex of letters. For such glosses cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1927), 405 f. This complex is in itself a corruption of a palindrome APA-PAX|XAPA|PA. The basic word may be Hebrew, if PAX can be accepted for *rūach*, or perhaps (still better) for *rakkā*. For the shortening of the palindrome compare Lachis for Lachesis (100).

<sup>1</sup> All references are to Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, Leipzig, Teubner, Vol. I, 1928; Vol. II, 1931.

114. It escapes my understanding what a βασιλειον ἀεροειδῆ may be. Should the second word be ἀ(στ)εροειδῆ? Or does it signify a cloud (nimbus) on the head, as in the Biblical expressions Exod. xvi, 10; xxiv, 16; xxxiv, 5?

115. Pr.'s ἐρισμούς also seems to me unintelligible; the nearest would be σεισμούς, which goes well with ἐπὶ γῆς, but less well with ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ. Σεισμός is used by Plato and Aristotle of any 'shaking', physical as well as mental. It might denote, then, the shaking of the air in a thunderstorm, an interpretation which would support the retention of the reading ἀεροειδῆ in 114.

141 f. In the execution of this magical *praxis* we have two triduums, during which the same offering is to be repeated, followed by a seventh day. On this arrangement compare W. Heidel, *The Day of Yahweh*, 28 f., 608.

150-1. The purification with mud (πηλός) appears to be Orphic.

158 f. The terms of the dismissal are strongly reminiscent of the prayer chanted in the Jewish synagogue when the scroll of the law is returned to its shrine.

III, 41 f. Since the water in which the male cat has been drowned is to be sprinkled in the stadium or elsewhere, the εἰς after ραίνεις must be dittography.

144-5. A sun-god (cf. 142) is called ὁ ἐν ὠκεανῷ ὀχεύων. Just before this he was called Kmeph, probably equivalent to Knouphis or Chnoumis, who in later times was regarded as a sun-god or a decanus; cf. *PW*, XI, 911 f.; *Suppl.*, VI, 432 ff. The emphasis put on the phallus of this god in Egyptian religion may help to explain the use of ὀχεύων; the god is the great creator. Cf. also R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 119, n. 3.

146. Ἀδά[μ προγε]νής is a restoration by Pr. This conjecture is very probable on account of the Hebraic colouring of what follows. But I should prefer [πρωτογε]νής (the necessary abbreviation ΠΡΩ for πρωτο does not appear too bold in view of ανον for ἄνθρωπον, Wessely, *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 1893, 76). Compare Reitzenstein-Schaeder, *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus* (*Studien d. Bibl. Warburg*, VII, 1926), 161: γῆ ἄνθρωπον ἀνέδωκε πρώτη . . . Χαλδαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἀδάμ· καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι φάσκουσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ (σῶμα) μόνον.

332. ωῖβ may be ῥόν ἱβέως, as Wessely actually seems to have read in his A 391.

337. We should probably correct as follows: δός μοι ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἀπορροίας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς Σελήνης τριακονθήμερον (or perhaps τριακοντάμοιρον).

556. ὑσγηνοῖδῆ σελήνην, an emendation for the εἰσγηνοῖδῆ of the papyrus. A difficulty in the way of accepting this change is that the Roman elegiac poets, who were familiar with magical rites, represent the moon as blushing with shame or anger when she witnesses a magical act; cf. also Rev. vi, 12. Dieterich's εἰς γῆν ὃν ἴδῃ keeps close to the letters, but fails to make sense. We want the description of a *shape*, not of a colour. Something like ἰσογώνιος seems to me to be hidden here.

IV, 272. The metre demands either πράξης or τελέσης for the ποιήσης of the papyrus.

The whole of the invocation of Typhon (260-73) shows peculiarities. In 262 I fail to understand Pr.'s ὄπλον; θεῶν should be joined with the ὄργυλον of the papyrus; in 270 the upper snows and the dark cold (ice?) below can hardly be Egyptian, because of the climatic conditions of that country; in 271 I like Eitrem's ἀπευκταίων better than the readings of either Dieterich or Pr. Can βασιλειον by itself mean 'royal power'? Its usual meaning is 'diadem'. But what is a 'diadem of the Moirai'? Can it be astrological? Possibly we have here a reference to the *hvarēnō* of the Persians; on its relation to, at least, Tyche-Fortuna, which later was identified with Heimarmene, see Cumont, *Mysterien d. Mithra* (3rd edn.), 85-93. See also my remarks above on II, 114.

362 f. *Baruch* has been correctly interpreted by Jacoby (see apparatus), but he has

overlooked the *ambra*, a variant of *arba*, which stands for the tetragrammaton. Accordingly we shall read *bārūch YHWH*. Similarly, *abrat* before Abrasax is the same as *arbat*, i.e., *YHWH*. I think also that the frequent *Arbathiao* is to be explained in the same way; the *θ* is the phonetic rendering of the Heb. *ת*.

440. Correct *ἐξ οὗ* into *ἐκ σου*.

447. For *τῇ δεῖνα* substitute *ἐμοί* and add *ἐν* after *μεσάταισιν ν*; see Pr.'s apparatus.

537–8. No editor or commentator, as far as I know, has been offended by the sudden mention of the *ἀκτῖνες*. To me it is obvious that we must assume a lacuna, perhaps to be filled thus: *πρὸς σὺν ἀντίον τοῦ ἡλίου*; cf. 785.

552. Read *ἀπέραντον οἶον* 'quasi infinitum', with a comma before (not after) *ἀπηλιώτην*.

559. I propose to transfer the group of words *σύμβολον . . . ἄφθαρτον* after the word *στόμα*; it may be a gloss in interpretation of this gesture.

589–90. I cannot understand the *τετρα* emendations. The *κλῆθρα* are evidently the bolts (cf. *συνδήσας*) of the fiery closed doors, which I assume to be within the *ἄπυρον κύκλωμα*. Perhaps this word ought to be restored here.

858. *ουριωρ* is not the name of an angel, but is a Heb. command: 'ūrī 'ōr 'arise, light'.

912. *ἐπὶ τοῖς πλίνθοις* must mean 'near to the bricks', not, as Pr. has it, 'on the bricks'.

1126 f. *στοιχείων* is not 'elements', as Pr. translates, but means 'stars'. Note that in what follows the five planets, sun, and moon are mentioned. Possibly we ought to read *χαίρετε, εἰ*.

In 1294 and 1990 *αρμαρα* is used for some sort of incense. The word seems to me to be derived from Heb. *mārā* 'bitter'; cf. *PW*, xvi, 1134; see also 1394 f. The *armara* must be one of the ingredients mentioned there, and it may be identical with *zmyrna* 'myrrh'.<sup>1</sup>

1302. I punctuate *βασιλεύουσα πόλου, ἀστέρων ὑπερτάτη*; cf. the word *πολοκράτωρ*.

1716. The magician Dardanos is identified by Wellmann (*PW*, iv, 2180) with the mythical founder of Troy; likewise Pr. (Roscher's *Lex. d. Myth.*, vi, 527, 25) and Mouterde (*Mél. Beyrouth*, 15, 62; I owe the reference to the kindness of Mr. Skeat). Now Josephus (*Arch.*, viii, 43, Niese) names as the wisest Hebrews of Solomon's time Haiman, Chalkeos, and Dardan, the three sons of Hemaon (cf. I Kings, iv, 31: 'He was wiser than . . . Ethan, Heman, Chalcol and Darda the sons of Mahol'). If this is reliable, then the *Xiphos Dardanou* in our papyrus may belong to the sphere of Jewish magic. Pr., *loc. cit.*, separates the word *Xiphos* from *Dardanou*, which he connects with the word *praxis*. The magic given here deals with Eros, Psyche and Aphrodite. The goddess bestrides Psyche. Pr. translates 1725 'holds her with her left hand, with her hair bound up', a translation accepted by Mouterde (*op. cit.*, 55) though the picture published by him shows nothing of the kind. It seems to me more probable that we should connect *κρατοῦσαν* with *τοὺς βοστρύχους*, and that *ἀναδεσμευμένην* means that it is Psyche who is fettered; cf. the jasper, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. 57, 13: 'Eros holds Psyche by her hair, placing his left foot on the right hip of the fallen girl, while his right brandishes the torch.' Now the *logos* to be recited contains many Hebrew elements (see below), and so do the *ephesia grammata* to be engraved on the stone: 1735, Ἀδωναῖε, βασμα (*besmah*) χαρακω, Ἰακώβ Ιαώη (ἡ?). In 1750–55 we have ἀρχηγέτης πάσης γενέσεως, διατείναντα τὰς πτέρυγας εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἄπλατον, εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐμπνέοντα λογισμόν; 1777 f., αἰδῆ, ἀσώματον; 1782, δι' ὃν τὸ φῶς καὶ εἰς ὃν τὸ φῶς χωριεῖ; 1799, βεριαμβω may possibly be connected with βερία 'birth', Iao, Lailam, Semesilam; in 1814 we read 'one is Thuriel, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Misael, Irrael, Istraël (cf. Erik Peterson, *EIS*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Skeat kindly suggests that the word is the same as the 'Greek' *ἀρμαλα*, i.e. *πήγανον* or *rue*, occurring with this meaning in a London papyrus. In this sense it occurs also in Dioscorides, iii, 45, where, however, it is called the 'Syrian' name. It does not seem that *rue* was ever used as an ingredient of an incense offering; cf. *PW*, i A, 298–300.



ΘΕΟΣ, 252); 1819 f., τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἄπτωτον ἰσχὺν (*koach*) τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλῶ. In view of this surprisingly strong Hebrew admixture it seems not too bold to abandon the Greek Dardanos and identify this arch-sorcerer with the Hebrew Dardan of Josephus and the Bible.

1849. Pr.'s equation of τινός with οὗ seems very doubtful. More probably it is δεινός τὸ ὄνομα. The sorcerer is to write his own name or that of the person for whom the charm is being prepared, followed by the prayer.

2243. φωτοπλήξ means 'who strikes with light', as we use 'moonstruck'. But what is the ἱερά αὐγὴ ἐκ σκότους εἰλημμένη, for which Wessely and Herwerden proposed ἐνημμένη? Better perhaps ἀνημμένη, from ἀνάπτω.

2246. ὑπεστρωμένη: Pr. translates 'spread over you', but it must be 'beneath'. The word is sometimes applied to a woman overpowered by a man. But can one say that the moon is more powerful than the 'horrenda Necessitas'? It seems so from 2602, where Selene is called κραιπνὴ Τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, and from 2678–9 ff., σὺ γὰρ δυσάλυκτος Ἀνάγκη. What follows is to me unintelligible. Why is the moon 'thrice bound', and what does βρίμασσον τὸν δεινὰ 'roar at NN.' mean? What is to be understood by 'Klotho will spin her threads for [or 'against'] you'? According to *PW*, xv, 2474 it means that the Moira is spinning the thread of immortality for Selene, but this interpretation, which would make the very existence of a deity subject to the will of the Moira, seems impossible.

3148 (cf. 2396). λευκομέτωπον ἄγριον is the reading of the papyrus. The proposed emendations (κρίον Kroll, δνάγριον Jacoby) are unsatisfactory because so large a sacrifice seems out of proportion to the purpose. Mr. Skeat calls my attention to Liddell and Scott (9th edn.), s.r., where it is given as the name of a bird. D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1936) 93, 298 identifies this bird as the coot (*Fulica atra*), a bird which is much used as food in modern Egypt. But the bird does not appear ever to have been domesticated, so that the attribute 'wild' seems strange. According to Schol. Aristoph. *Birds*, 565 the bird served as a sacrifice to Aphrodite. Our two recipes, however, have no relation whatever to this goddess. A further puzzle is presented by the direction twice (2396, 3148) that the animal is to be offered as a holocaust, while in 2397 its entrails are to be roasted and eaten by the magician. For these reasons it seems to me that the identification with the bird is very uncertain and that a corruption is to be assumed in the word ἄγριον.

v, 142. σαβριαμ seems to me to be the Heb. *shōbhēr yam* 'breaker of the sea'.

455. Ἰδαῖον is accepted by Pr., following Wuensch, as the name of a finger. Both are influenced in this by the superficial resemblance to the Idaioi Daktyloi, who are sometimes said to have been 5 and 5 (see Lobeck, *Agl.*, 1168 ff. and *PW*, iv, 2018); 'Zeigefinger' is Pr.'s interpretation. It seems to me simpler (cf. *Cl. Rev.*, 1896, 412) to assume that the α is a dittography for δ and that we should read ἴδιον, i.e. the proper, peculiar ring finger; cf. also Macrobius, *Sat.* vi, 13, 8 ff. and Ganschietz in *PW*, I A, 837.

462. <πας>σαλεύσαντα. This emendation of Dieterich's (*Abraxas*, 69) has been accepted by Pr. But it cannot be right. God calms the ever-moving sea and, conversely, he shakes (σαλεύει) the firmament. Kenyon saw this correctly.

vii, 478. In πασσαλεον ητ', which Pr. considers a magical word, we have, I think, some form of πασσαλεύω, perhaps πασσαλεύων or -οντα or -οντος, for I can discover no reason for supplying ἄγγελον.

581 f. We should connect φορούμενον with στρατιωτικῶς, 'worn in the manner of a soldier', i.e., like a phalera. One ἐστίν or the other should be deleted.

890. For the reddening of the goddess, see my remarks on iii, 556.

xii, 18 f. ἔχοντα βάσιν μακράν is commonly explained as 'on a long base' (Pr. and Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, 90), but it equals μακρὰ βιβάντα 'with legs spread, taking a long

stride'. For how can one say 'make an Eros who has a long base'? Neither can Pr.'s ἐκδεξιν τῶνδε be correct. The magic *praxis* mentions no objects to be placed in the alleged base, nor can τῶνδε mean 'of the whole', neither are any τάδε mentioned here or elsewhere. Something implying 'right foot forward' apparently underlies the δεξ . . . . Possibly there is missing a direction as to what Eros was to do with the torch (held in his right hand; cf. [ἡ δ' ἄριστε]ρὰ χεῖρ). Evidently he was to torment Psyche with it.

85. πασίχθων would seem to be good Greek, an attempt apparently to give a name to the god to whom the whole creation is subject.

97. Pr.'s punctuation between ἀνεμώνης and φλογίτιδος is to be rejected. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, xxi, 164-6. In this way we shall have here the magically potent number nine as the number of the ingredients.

109. Pr. translates ὃν . . . πομπεῦσαι 'to whom you wish to send a dream'. Now this sending of a dream is not an act in which a third person is to dream something prophetic about himself; the intention is to bring that person into the power of the magician. Therefore the important thing is to define the kind of dream which is to take place. So we read in the Oneiropompos of Zminis, 130: 'what you wish NN. to see, and how'; cf. also 136.

138. Neither Dieterich's τὸν Χριστόν nor Pr.'s τὸν χρηματίζοντα τὸ νῦν θεόν is satisfactory. The latter least of all, for it is clear that the sorcerer invokes powers which are able to control the spirit represented by the drawing, who is the god to give the prophecy. According to the apparatus the ρ may as well be an α, so that one may think of τὸν χάμψαν (crocodile, Herodotus, ii, 69), that is Seth (Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.*, iv, 747, 763, 773, 779 c; *PW*, ii A, 1901).

141. For τρήσας read πρήσας; Seth was burned before he was driven out (Roscher, *op. cit.*, iv, 759, 2).

203. For the jasper ἀερίζων compare Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvii, 118: *utilem contionantibus*.

285. ἐλωειν is certainly *Elōhim*; for the confusion of ν and μ, cf. 288, where we read *Abraan* instead of *Abraam*, and, possibly, 478.

xiii, 10. λύχνους τεταρτημορίους κτλ. Pr. translates 'lamps which you fill to one fourth of their capacity'. But compare 366 f., of the same ceremony, where we have κοτυλιαίους instead. The kotyle equals one-fourth of a choinix. Cf. also 126. Decisive is 368, 'filling full'.

130. Here Pr. translates ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος by 'libation and tithe', while in 362 he renders the same words as 'initiation and perfection'. As far as I can see, the words must have the same meaning each time, viz., 'beginning and end'. It is easily understood how milk can be equated with 'beginning', but I do not know why unmixed wine should be the same as 'end'. In view of 362 it is possible that in 130 the words καὶ νίτρον Ἑλληνικόν have been lost and that the following phrase refers only to this nitre. It is not clear to me, however, what this material is. Since something is to be inscribed on it, it ought to be either a stone or a schist. But the word is commonly used of lye or potash. Yet (*PW*, xvii, 777, ii, 1) nitre seems to have been mined in Egypt in the form of stones (Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxi, 108, *in Aegypto . . . lapidosum*; 111, *lapidescit*). The Greek product, from Thrace and Macedonia, does not seem to have had this solid form (Pliny, *ibid.*, 106-7).

171. σὺ γὰρ εἰ ωγαι εἰ ὦν βεθελλε. Here the definition of YHWH, 'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh 'I am who I am' (Exod. iii, 14) seems to be concealed or alluded to.

239 f. For this recipe, compare Pliny, *N.H.*, xxx, 143: *qui in urinam canis suam egresserit dicitur ad venerem impigrior fieri*.

478. It is possible to see in βεσενβεριθενβεριο the Heb. words *besēm berīth* 'in God (the Name) is the bond'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Obermann suggests as 'terribly tempting' *bi-sh' 'ēn b'rīth 'ēn b'rī'ā* 'where there is no covenant, there is no creation'.

508. *K(αι)ρός*: so Pr.; *Kronos* is read by Dieterich and accepted by Reitzenstein (*Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed., 359). The description which follows (sceptre) and the speech of the *θεὸς πρωτόκτιστος* do not fit Kairos in its usual meaning, they fit Chronos (512, 'past and future shall be in your power'). According to *PW*, x, 1509, Kairos was later on equated with Chronos.

In 605–7 we are dealing with Hebraisms: *melech m'elāchīm, 'adhōn 'adhōnīm, 'ēl 'ēlīm, gibbōr gibbōrīm, kedhōsh k'dhōshīm*. But I can think of nothing corresponding to *ἐνδοξος ἐνδοξοτάτων*.

643–4. Something is wrong here. The attempts to emend the passage, as made by Dieterich and Pr., are unsatisfactory. I fail to understand the significance of the gesture proposed by Pr.: 'leaning your left hand on your right knee'. In Dieterich's proposal we miss a counterpart *δεξιάν* to *ἀριστεράν*. In both emendations what follows presents the difficulty that Selene is used for 'fire'. For evidently the four elements are indicated here, earth, fire, water, air. I suspect that we may have here the remains of a much longer direction, something like this: *θεὶς τὸ δεξιὸν γόνυ εἰς ἐπίπεδον, γῆ ᾧ ᾧ. βλέψας πρὸς ποταμόν, ὕδατι ᾧ. βλέψας ἄνω, οὐρανῷ ᾧ. βλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ἡλίῳ ᾧ* (*ℳ* for *ℚ*); compare 823–34, 856–79.

752. It seems to have escaped the notice of both Ganschinietz (*PW*, xi, *Katoptromanteia*) and Delatte (*La Catoptromancie*, Liège, 1932, 141) that this method of divining is mentioned here. The term used by the papyrus, *εἰσοπτ.*, is unusual.

880–2. The words *λύγξ . . . φοῖνιξ* seem to be interpreted by the words *ζωή . . . θεῶν*. The difficulty lies in the word-order. The Phoenix would be a very good symbol for life (see Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth., Nachträge*), the eagle stands naturally for power, the snake for Anankē. But the lynx as 'image of the gods' cannot so easily be explained. The Egyptians apparently considered the animal as sacred to a god, since they mummified it (*PW*, xiii, 2478, 57). The Greeks connected it with Dionysos and Apollo (*ibid.*, 2477, 25, 41). The expression *εἴδωλον θεῶν* occurs also in LI, 3, 4, but it is there applied to the ghost of a dead man.

888–904. It has escaped the notice of the editors that these lines are misplaced. So far there has been no mention of either a golden or a silver leaf. Evidently the passage must be placed after 1001 f., which begins: 'take a golden or a silver leaf'.





LARNAX TES LAPETHOU 2

# OBSERVATIONS ON A PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION OF PTOLEMAIC DATE

By A. M. HONEYMAN

THE publication of the third Phoenician inscription from Larnax tes Lapethou in Cyprus<sup>1</sup> has directed the writer's attention afresh to the longer inscription Larnax tes Lapethou 2,<sup>2</sup> which still presents problems of reading, interpretation, date, and historical context.<sup>3</sup>

I read the text thus:

1. מש לנעם
2. הסמל ז מש אנך יתנבעל רב ארץ בן גרעשתרת רב ארץ בן עבדענשתרת
3. רב ארץ בן עבדאסר
3. בן גרעשתרת בן שלם פרכלמל אש יטנאת לי אבמקדש מלקרת סכר [נעם  
בחי]ם לשמי
4. בחדש זבח ששם אש בשנת י לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן מלכם פתלמיש
5. אש המת לעם לפש שנת מ ו וכהן לאדן מלכם עבדעשתרת בן גרעשתרת
6. רב ארץ פרכלמל ובירח מפע אש בשנת ו ו לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן  
מלכם
7. פתלמיש אבחי אבי ישת במקדש מלקרת אית מש פן אבי בנחשת ובירח
8. פעלת אש בשנת ו ו לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן מלכם פתלמיש בחי
9. אבי יתת ויקדשת חית שגית בגבל שד נרנך לאדן אש לי למלקרת
10. אש בתבאת החית ימן על תקמת עם ומזבחת לאדן אש לי למלקרת
11. על חיי ועל חי זרעי ים מד ים ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי
12. [בחד]שם ובכסאם ירח מד ירח עד עלם כקדם כם הדלת הנחשת
13. [אש כ]תבת וסמרת בקר אש בן מנחת חני ופעלת אנך עלת
14. [...]הזמ[...]אפבת בכסף משקל כר מ ו ו ויקדשת לאדן
15. [אש לי ל]מלקרת פקת ונעם יכן לי ולזרעי ויסכרן מלקרת
16. [ויסכר ל]נעם שרש

<sup>1</sup> In *Le Muséon* 51 (1938), 285–98 and plate vi.

<sup>2</sup> Discovered 1893 and now in the Louvre. The *editio princeps* of the inscription is by Berger in *Revue d'Assyriologie* 3 (1895), 69–88 (hereafter referred to simply as Berger), following shorter notices in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L. sér. iv.* 21 (1893), 224, 379, 385. Subsequent treatments of the inscription are by Halévy in *Rev. Sémi.* 3 (1895), 183 ff., 390–1; Clermont-Ganneau in *Études d'Archéologie Orientale* 2 (1896), 157–81 (hereafter C.-G.); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* 1 (1898), 422 (*NSE*; in the list of references, for 1141a read 1145a); Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients* II (1899), 46–9; Cooke, *Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (1903), 82–8 (*NSI*); Lidzbarski, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (1907), 34–5 (Lidz.); *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* III, fasc. i (1916), no. 1211. References to discussions of isolated points will be given in their place.

<sup>3</sup> My reading of the text is based on the reproductions given by Berger in *Rev. d'Ass.* 3, plate iv and p. 73, and by Clermont-Ganneau in his *Album d'Antiquités Orientales*, plate xliii and on two squeezes kindly prepared for me by the authorities of the Louvre and reproduced in plate xi. For information on matters connected with Ptolemaic history I wish to record my indebtedness to Dr. W. W. Tarn, F.B.A., and—especially on matters of Cyprian epigraphy and history—to my colleague, Mr. T. B. Mitford.

And I render the restored text:

'1. A votive image for favour. 2. This statue is a votive image. I am Yatonba'al, district officer, son of Ger'aštart, district officer, son of 'Abd'a[štart, district officer, son of 'Abd'o]sir, 3. son of Ger'aštart, son of Šallum, prominent among the people, who have made an erection for myself in the sanctuary of Melqart as a me[morial of favour] to my name [among the li]ving, 4. on the new moon of the month Zebaḥ-šišsim in the year xi of Ptolemy lord of kings son of Ptolemy lord of kings, 5. which is according to (the era of) the people of Lapethos year xxxiii, the priest to Ptolemy lord of kings being 'Abd'aštart son of Ger'aštart, 6. district officer, prominent among the people.

'In the month Mopa' of the year iv of Ptolemy lord of kings son of Ptolemy 7. lord of kings, in the lifetime of my father, I set up in the sanctuary of Melqart the votive image of my father in bronze.

'In the month 8. Pa'ulot of the year v of Ptolemy lord of kings son of Ptolemy lord of kings, in the lifetime of 9. my father, I gave and consecrated roaming beasts within the (sacred) territory of Narnaka to mine own lord Melqart, 10. that by the (voluntary) coming of the beasts allocation might be made for the establishment of the people and of the altars of mine own lord Melqart, 11. for the sake of my life and that of my seed, day by day, and to the rightful scion and to his wives and to his blood 12. on the new moons and on the full moons, month by month for ever, as heretofore, in accordance with the bronze plaque 13. which I wrote and nailed upon the wall which forms part of my gracious gift.<sup>1</sup> And I made upon 14. . . . . of silver, weighing cii KR and dedicated (them) to [mine own] 15. lord Melqart. May advantage and favour accrue to me and to my seed; may Melqart remember me 16. [and may he remember] the stock for favour!'

The inscription commences with a formula of benediction (l. 1) and a statement of the character and donor of the dedication which it accompanies.

Line 1. **משל נעם** as a variant to **למזל נעם** (Larn. Lap. 1, l. 5) is open to objection. The absence of the preposition **ל**, as *NSI* observes, is noteworthy. While **ש** for **ס** appears at Lapethos in the loan-word **פתלמיש** (Larn. Lap. 1, l. 2; 2, ll. 4, 6)<sup>2</sup> and while **ס** for **ז** is regular in certain words,<sup>3</sup> **ש** for **ז** has no parallel, unless, perhaps, in **עשרבעל** (*CIS* I, 217, 1542) which is confined to Punic. If the letters are divided as **מש לנעם**<sup>4</sup> the sense becomes clear. **מש** is

<sup>1</sup> Or ' . . . which they built for the security of my gift'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *NSE* I, 395; Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 22 and 24.

<sup>3</sup> *NSE* *ibid.*; cf. *Rev. d'Ass.* 16, 188.

<sup>4</sup> I have been anticipated in this division of the words by Praetorius in *ZDMG* 67, 132, who, however, takes **מש**—rather weakly—as 'that which' (cf. **מה-ש** in Ecclesiastes and post-Biblical Hebrew and **מאש** in l. 4 of the Kilamuwa inscription). Praetorius justly remarks that the usual division and interpretation of the line would never have commended itself but for the plausible completion of Larn. Lap. 1, l. 5 as **למזל נעם**. Exposure to the weather of the rock Lacharopetra has deteriorated the surface of Larn. Lap. 1 since the reproductions of *CIS* (I, 95 and Pl. xiv) and *NSE* (II, Pl. vi, 5); in a squeeze kindly made for me by Mr. Mitford, only **ם[.]לז[.]למ** is clearly discernible in the last line. Bruston's reading **ז מש לנעם** 'comme offrande pour obtenir faveur' (*Études Phéniciennes*, 41, 129; cf. *RES* no. 1515) is precluded on epigraphic grounds. Hall's reading **מעז** in l. 1 of the same inscription (*JAOS* 10, 136; *RES* *ibid.*) is still more impossible. In l. 4 of the Phoenician text I find no room for the restoration **ת[א]** and would read **יקדשת מובה** '(I, Ba'alšillem, son of Sesmai) 4. dedicated an altar'. The omission of the personal pronoun in apposition to the proper name is unusual, but does not constitute an irregularity. This reading would introduce another divergence from the Greek text, but cannot be regarded as certain without an examination of the stone itself.

Larn. Lap. 1 is commonly dated to the period of Ptolemy's victory in 312. This date is based on the character of the Greek lettering, which is said to be that of the late fourth century. On general grounds a date after the final reconquest in 295 is at least equally probable, and the title *Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου* = **פתלמיש לאדמלכם** demands a date *after* Ptolemy's assumption of the name of king in 305, † (cf. *Mizraim* 6 (1937), 29), and therefore not before 295.

never simply 'statue'; cf. l. 2, Larn. Lap. 3, l. 2 'I gave this *mš*-statue' and *Ephemeris* III, 60, l. 1 מַאֲשׁ אֱלֹהִים 'divine, sacral *mš*'. Translate 'votive image' and cf. *Le Muséon* 51, 289–90.

Line 2. הַסְמַל ז מֶשׁ. Friedrich<sup>1</sup> rightly castigates the barbarism of C.-G.'s interpretation 'this statue is mine, even mine'. The reading is beyond all legitimate doubt,<sup>2</sup> and the above word-division avoids at once the supposition of an otherwise unknown form זֶם for the singular demonstrative and the harshness of a relative pronoun 'zunächst unmittelbar hinter sein Demonstrativ gesetzt' in the less usual form ש<sup>3</sup> and then as אֲשׁ 'nach der langen Ahnenreihe des Stifters noch einmal aufgenommen'.<sup>4</sup> Yatonba'al's *mš* took the form of a statue—whether of Melqart, himself as votary, or an ideal votary—set upon a base on the face of which the inscription was cut. The pedestal is round in section, with cornices above and below; the back of the pedestal is undressed, having probably been set into a niche. The top surface of the stone has two dowel-holes 5 cm. deep and 15 cm. and 8 cm. respectively from the edge; the position of the holes suggests that the statue was seated or *en avant*.<sup>5</sup>

The length of the family tree of Yatonba'al is striking, and, when taken together with the brief genealogy of Larn. Lap. 3 and the absence of titles except in the case of the last three members in the list, indicative of the ambition and success of the family in local politics.<sup>6</sup> רַב אֶרֶץ corresponds in sense to *χωράρχης*, but it must be observed that the latter word does not occur as the title of any Ptolemaic official. It is unlikely that Yatonba'al held office in the imperial administrative service, which was normally recruited from outside and did not serve hereditarily in one locality. רַב אֶרֶץ then is not the equivalent of ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν or the like,<sup>7</sup> but rather the designation of an office in the local republican government, parallel perhaps to the suffetship at Kition<sup>8</sup> or to the post of 'chief magistrate of the city' at Paphos.<sup>9</sup> The restoration of the title רַב אֶרֶץ after [עבדע[שתרת] is virtually certain, for there is not room on the stone for another generation between [עבדע[שתרת] and [עבדא[סר]. The latter word is a very tentative reading, but not inherently improbable. The name occurs in Cyprus in the third and fourth centuries B.C. at Kition in *CIS* I, 13, l. 2, 58, ll. 2–3, and 46, l. 1; in the last case the father and grandfather of 'Abd'osir are עבדסס and חר respectively. Other Egyptian theophorous elements occur in the Phoenician onomasticon of pre-Ptolemaic Cyprus, e.g. *CIS* I, 50, l. 1; 53: 65; 86B, l. 6; 93, ll. 2–3.<sup>10</sup> The temple of Osiris in Lapethos<sup>11</sup> dates from before the third year of Berekšemeš, i.e. about the middle of the fourth century. Nor were these Egyptian influences mediated mainly through the mainland of

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 2 (1924), 1–2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Friedrich, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The relative appears in this inscription invariably as אֲשׁ.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich, *ibid.* One other possibility remains—הַסְמַל ז מֶשׁ שְׁאֵנֶךְ (with haplography of the ש) 'this statue is a *mš* which . . .'. Apart from the awkward repetition of אֲשׁ . . . ש, this reading involves a haplography of a sort unusual in Phoenician. לֹאֲדַמְלֶכְם (Larn. Lap. 1, l. 2) is a case of assimilation in a stereotyped formula, and מַלְכֵי in *CIS* I, 11, l. 2 is inconclusive, for the reading rests solely on the authority of Pococke and the stone has since been destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> I have to thank Mlle Rutten of the Louvre for this information; cf. Berger, 70.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Berger, 76 and 88.

<sup>7</sup> Berger, 79.

<sup>8</sup> *CIS* I, 47; cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 372 and 489.

<sup>9</sup> *OGIS* 166.

<sup>10</sup> The suggestion was made orally by Professor W. F. Albright at the XXth Congress of Orientalists in Brussels (1938) that פֶּרֶם in Larn. Lap. 3 may stand for \*חַפִּירֹם 'Apis is exalted'. For the loss of initial *het* cf. \**Ahirōm* > חֶרֶם, \**Ahizēbel* > אִיזְבֵּל, \**Ahikabōd* > אִיקְבֹּד. For Canaanite names compounded with the name of Apis see Lidzbarski, *Phönizische und aramaische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine* (*Abh. Berlin*, 1912, *Anhang* I) and de Vaux in *Rev. Bib.* 48 (1939), 399. Albright stresses the problematic character of this etymology; in its favour may be urged the fact that his brother is named after an Egyptian deity. Cf. *Le Muséon* 51, 288.

<sup>11</sup> Larn. Lap. 3, l. 5.



Phoenicia. The Egyptian element in Phoenician religion was down to a late date perceptibly naturalized; the process was one of syncretistic identification and fusion rather than of overt borrowing. Thus the Lady of Byblos, though represented as Hathor-Isis,<sup>1</sup> is never referred to at Byblos as Isis or Hathor, but always as **בעלת (גבל)**, by which name she is known in Egypt itself under the New Empire.<sup>2</sup> The Lady of Byblos was doubtless among 'the gods of Byblos' whose cult was known at Lapethos before the republican period.<sup>3</sup> In continental Phoenicia Semitic names containing Egyptian theophorous elements are unknown until about 200 B.C.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of Rhodes, Delos, Malta, and the mainland of Greece the Egyptian religious influences on pre-Ptolemaic Cyprus resulted from direct contacts.<sup>5</sup> To what extent the stimulus afforded by Amasis's capture of Cyprus c. 560 B.C. contributed to this result the meagre evidence for the period prior to the fourth century does not enable us to determine;<sup>6</sup> but it is clear that the presence of Cyprians at Abydos<sup>7</sup> and elsewhere in Egypt from the fifth century onwards had as its complement the permeation of the Phoenician cults of Cyprus by Egyptian influences.<sup>8</sup>

Line 3. **יטנאת** has no object, but it is obvious that the erection was the statue on the base bearing the inscription.<sup>9</sup>

Lines 4–6a init. with their threefold dating of the dedication which accompanied the inscription, introduce the problem of the date of the inscription. After the time of

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *CIS* I. 1; cf. Conteneau, *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, 183 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lidzbarski. *Altkananäische Texte*, 13; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Larn. Lap. 3, l. 9; cf. *Le Muséon* 51, 296 f., where it should have been noted that the order of the dedications is the same as in Larn. Lap. 2, viz. first the latest inscription in time, which provides the occasion for the inscription and which is dated *to the day*, then the other inscriptions in chronological order and with the date given only to the month. Owing to a lacuna in the text it is not possible to tell whether the dedication in Larn. Lap. 3, l. 9 belongs to the reign of Praxippos or to that of one of his predecessors. The name of Isis herself is attested in Cyprus from S. IV–III B.C. (cf. *CIS* I, 50), that of Osiris in Syria first at Umm al-'Awamid in the Hellenistic period (*RES* no. 504).

<sup>4</sup> Thus **עבדאבסת** *RES* no. 800 (Tyre, c. 200 B.C.); **Ἀβδουβαστιος** Waddington and Le Bas 1866c (Sidon); **עבדאסר** (*bis*) = *Διονυσιος* *CIS* I, 122 (Tyrians in Malta a generation after 180 B.C.); **עבדאסר** *CIS* I, 9 (Umm al-'Awamid, not before Dionysodorus); **Ἀβδουσιπος** Renan, *Mission*, 241 (A.D. 8); **אסרשמר** (*bis*) = *Σαπασμω* (*bis*) *CIS* I, 122 (Tyrians in Malta after 180 B.C.); **עבדהר** *Ephemeris* II, 55 = *RES* 307 (Umm al-'Awamid, c. S. II B.C.); **אסעא** hypocoristic of **אסעמס** *Syria* 6 (1925), 271 ff. (Byblos, S. I B.C.). The fathers of **עבדאבסת**, **עבדהר**, and **Ἀβδουσιπος** have pure Phoenician names. **פטאס** *Rev. Bib.* 27, 257 (Ur, S. VII B.C.) is hardly evidence for Phoenicia itself. **עבדס** *RES* no. 234 (Amrit, c. S. V B.C.), *si vera lectio* (C.-G. is reported as reading **עבדס** and Berger as reading **עבדס**) is probably for **עבדסכנ**; cf. *Iraq* 6 (1939), 108. Cf. also Seyrig in *Syria* 13 (1932), 357 ff. We do not know whence **עבדאסר**, son of Pa'al'aštar (*Ephemeris* I, 185 = *Altkananäische Texte* 37), referred to at Memphis in S. II–I B.C. originated, but Phoenicians of an earlier date, when migrating from Syria to Egypt, did not hesitate to call their children after Egyptian gods; cf. *CIS* I, 102 A (Abydos, S. IV) and Lidzbarski, *Phönizische... Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine*, especially p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Erman. *op. cit.*, 419; cf. *CIS* I, 123.

<sup>6</sup> *CAH* III, 306, 322; Breasted, *History of Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, 593. The character of the earlier intercourse is well illustrated by the case of Wen-Amon who, when shipwrecked in Cyprus on his way from Syria to Egypt, met a Cyprian who could speak Egyptian (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, 591), and by that of Herostratos (*i.e.* Ger'aštar?), a merchant of Naukratis trading with Cyprus, who, on the evidence of Polycharmus of Naukratis (Müller, *FHG* IV, 480), dedicated a statue of Aphrodite ('Aštar?) at Naukratis in the XXIIIrd Olympiad, *i.e.* 688 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> *Ephemeris* III, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Note also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I. xx, 16–18.

<sup>9</sup> It is not impossible that **יטנאת** is passive—though such passives are virtually unknown in Phoenician (cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, 42)—and that the opening words are put into the mouth of the statue—'I am Yatonba'al . . . who have been erected. . . '.

Philadelphus the insertion of the divine title of the Ptolemy or of his parents, &c., is invariable in Cyprus in Greek inscriptions; but the absence in a non-Greek inscription of any epithet with the name of 'Ptolemy, lord of kings, son of Ptolemy, lord of kings' cannot be regarded as sure evidence that one of the early Ptolemies is intended.<sup>1</sup> The date assigned to the inscription by C.-G. is invalidated by features other than the form of the royal title. On general historical grounds no sufficient reason appears for the introduction of an era of Lapethos in 203 or 139 B.C. Apart from dating by regnal years of the Ptolemies, the only other era in Hellenistic Cyprus is the civic era of Kition, which is known to have begun with the introduction of republican institutions in 311 B.C.<sup>2</sup> and which may be inferred to have come to an end not later than about the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Again it is quite improbable that Phoenician survived in Cyprus to so late a date as that favoured by C.-G. The latest datable Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus are dated 255/4 B.C. and 260/59 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and the epigraphic character of undated inscriptions does not in any significant number of cases suggest an appreciably later date.<sup>5</sup> The style of lettering in Larn. Lap. 2 is later than that of Larn. Lap. 3,<sup>6</sup> but not manifestly younger than that of CIS 1, 93 and 94.<sup>7</sup> The orthographic idiosyncrasies of Larn. Lap. 2 are the stone-cutter's reproduction of peculiarities of the Phoenician dialect of Lapethos.<sup>8</sup> And the whole case for C.-G.'s interpretation breaks down when the correct reading is restored at the end of line 11.

Line 5. לפש. Cf. C.-G. 161-2; *Le Muséon* 51, 289. וכהן לאדן מלכם—i.e. priest to the deified Ptolemy I Soter.<sup>9</sup>

Line 6. The phrase פרכלמ<sup>10</sup> occurs (1) at the end of the genealogy, immediately after the name Šallum (line 3), (2) in the date-formula, immediately after 'Abd'aštar, son of Ger'aštar, *rab 'ereš*', and nowhere else.<sup>11</sup> Lidz. is correct in regarding the phrase as a 'Berufs- oder Beiname'. It is improbable that the title pertains to Šallum and to Ger'aštar

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Berger, 78 and see S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, I (1939), Introduction, xv-xvi.

<sup>2</sup> NSE I, 111, 113; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 159, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Two Greek inscriptions, of 146/5 B.C. (unpublished) and 145/4 B.C. (*Archiv* 13 (1938), 31-2) respectively, imply the era of Kition to be no longer in use. The provenance of these inscriptions is not certain, but both were found at the modern Larnaka, and in the case of the published document internal evidence suggests Kition.

<sup>4</sup> CIS I, 93 and 94.

<sup>5</sup> The parallel case of the Cypriote syllabary points to the same conclusion. The claim (*AJA* 30 (1926), 249) that the syllabary survived to c. 50 B.C. cannot be sustained; v. Mitford in *Archiv* 13 (1938), 15, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Le Muséon* 51, 285.

<sup>7</sup> The *alef* of the former inscription, the open-topped *bet* of the latter, are more advanced than those letters in Larn. Lap. 2; the *yod* and *šin* are very similar. But in themselves such features are not decisive; cf. *Iraq* 6 (1939), 107.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *infra*, 64, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *CAH* VII, 16, 133; Berger, 79; Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 129.

<sup>10</sup> The correct reading was established by C.-G. 160. *Reš* and *dalet* closely resemble each other throughout this inscription; hence the doubt as to the antepenultimate letter of the group, which, if not *dalet*, must be *reš*. Berger misread אן set closely together as א.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, 371-2. On no interpretation of the text can the phrase 'lord of the land of Cormi' be found in 'two Phoenician subscriptions'. Nor, as will be seen, can it apply to Yatonba'al 'and his father before him'. The phrase rendered 'of Cormi' occurs only in this inscription, and in only one of the two occurrences is it preceded by the words *rab 'ereš*. The initial assumption is clearly against connecting רב ארץ with פרכלמ. רב ארץ is used elsewhere in this inscription without specification of the locality. The inscription affords no support for the theory, based entirely on Ptolemy the geographer (v, xiii, 5), that Ptolemaic Cyprus was divided into four districts of which the north central one—whether called 'Cormi' or Lapethos—was administered by a *chorarches* or other local officer in Lapethos.

the younger, not only on account of the interval of time between them and the absence of the title with any of the intervening names, but mainly because it is not given to Ger'aštar on the first mention of his name in l. 2. The title then must go either with the whole list in each case or with the first member in each list, *i.e.* with the names of the two brothers Yatonba'al and 'Abd'aštar. In the latter case פּרַכְמֶל cannot be the Greek equivalent of the names, since the two brothers would have different names in Greek as in Phoenician.<sup>1</sup> With all reserve the writer would venture two suggestions.<sup>2</sup> The phrase may be פֶּר כַּרְמֶל 'fruit, *i.e.* family, descendants of Carmel',<sup>3</sup> indicating the district, possibly one of the productive hill-slopes near Lapethos,<sup>4</sup> from which the family derived. Alternatively, if the penultimate letter of the group is *dalet*, the phrase may be a transcription of the Greek προεχ(εῖς) (τοῦ) δῆμου 'prominent among the people, leading citizens'<sup>5</sup>—a title of honour enjoyed by the family generally and not the designation of a civic office.

Lines 7 fin. to 16, forming a half of the whole text, are concerned with the third and greatest dedication.

Line 9. שְׁנִית, as discerned by C.-G., is not שְׁנִיאוֹת *i.q.* 'many' and thus an Aramaism,<sup>6</sup> but שְׁנִית from the root שָׁנַי 'roam, wander'; for the form *cf.* Ugaritian *b k y t* (Danel 171–2), אֲתִיּוֹת (Isaiah xli. 23), &c.<sup>7</sup> The animals were made over to the god as his property, turned loose in the demesne attached to the temple, and used, if at all, only for sacrificial purposes, as was done at the sanctuary of 'Aštar-Astroarche<sup>8</sup> at Eryx in

<sup>1</sup> Unless, indeed, it represents their Greek patronymic, *i.e.* the Greek name of Ger'aštar, *e.g.* a name in Ἰππος or δῆμος. Such names were characteristic of Lapethos; *cf.* *Le Muséon* 51, 291. However, the usual equivalent of Ger'aštar is Ἡρόστρατος (*cf.* Mitford in *Archiv* 13 (1938), 16, note 1), and it would be surprising for an initial rough breathing to have no representation in the transliteration.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* C.-G. 162; NSI 84. פּרַכְ cannot represent Πραξί- which would require פּרַכְסֶ or the like; for such transcriptions see Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 148–50.

<sup>3</sup> For פֶּר in the sense of ἑκγονοί and שָׁרשׁ (*cf.* *inf.* l. 16) meaning πρόγονοι *cf.* CIS I, 3, ll. 11–12 and Isaiah xi. 1. כַּרְמֶל 'garden-land' is a frequent place-name.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Casson, *Ancient Cyprus*, plate x.

<sup>5</sup> Probably pronounced προεχ(εῖς). The word does not actually occur outside of Hesychius. Inflectional endings may be omitted in Phoenician transliterations of the third century; *cf.* פֶּלדֶּלֶף for Φιλάδελφος (CIS I, 93, l. 2). The final *lamed* would be for *nun* by dissimilation under the influence of the neighbouring *mem* (Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, 222), the *nun* representing the Cyprian genitive singular (Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, I, 426).

<sup>6</sup> The fact is that Phoenician, even in the third century B.C., is more immune from Aramaic contamination than Hebrew of the same and earlier periods. *Cf.* *Ephemeris* III, 53. This feature is only partially explained by the fact that the Phoenician that has come down to us is largely religious in content—and thus inherently archaistic in tendency, and entirely epigraphic in character—and so at once limited to lapidary formulae and free from the vicissitudes of manuscript transmission. The one doubtful Aramaism in this inscription, לאדן אש לי למלקרת (ll. 9, 10, 14–15) is perhaps merely a circumlocution employed for emphasis, since, apart from the 'adon melakim and his house, Yatonba'al, unlike his eclectic forebears, had no other gods beside Melqart. Against שְׁנִית is the further consideration that dedications were usually specified in precise terms.

<sup>7</sup> The singular of this type of feminine participle occurs in Phoenician בִּנְת, used as a proper name, with elision of the final radical as in תִּבְנֶת (Hebrew תְּבִנִּית, תְּכֵלֶת, *cf.* Praetorius in *ZDMG* 60 (1906), 167), תִּבְרַת (*cf.* Hebrew תְּבִרִית), probably also מִבְנֶת, מִחְנֶת (*cf.* Hebrew מִחְנִית) and possibly מִשְׁרַת (*cf.* Lidz. p. 41); *cf.* also Hebrew מִרְעִית, &c. In Ugaritian, as often in Hebrew, such forms do not contract, *e.g.* *k n y t. q n y t.* *Cf.* Gesenius-Cowley, *Grammar*, § 75 v; Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, §§ 73 b, 74 h; Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 38, 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.* *Rev. hist. rel.* 121 (1940), 9, note 6.

Sicily.<sup>1</sup> The animals, though not specified, may have included those appropriate to Poseidon-Melqart, *viz.* bulls;<sup>2</sup> but for the daily sacrifices less substantial victims, such as sheep, goats, deer, or birds, would suffice.<sup>3</sup>

Line 10 init. **ש**א, not read by any previous editor, is epigraphically probable: syntactically it is without any precise parallel in Phoenician, resumption of the antecedent being by repetition of the noun in the relative clause instead of by the more usual pronominal suffix.

**בתבאת**.—*NSI* objects that **תבאת**, like Hebrew **תְּבוּאָה**, can refer only to vegetable produce and not to animal offspring. If the objection is sustained<sup>4</sup> the word may mean no more than 'comings', with an allusion to the pious fiction that sacred animals voluntarily presented themselves for sacrifice.<sup>5</sup>

**ימן** i.q. **יְמִנָה** from **מני** 'count, assign, apportion'; the word is a terminus technicus for the allocation of sacrificial animals; *cf.* Isaiah lxx. 12 and the Hebrew nouns **מִנָּה** and **מִנֶּת**.

**תקמת**—similar in form to **תבאת** *supra* and the congener of Hebrew **תְּקוּמָה** (Lev. xxvi. 37), but, unlike the latter, transitive in force.<sup>6</sup> The syntax is zeugmatic; provision of victims is (a) for the establishment of the people, *i.e.* to secure divine favour for the community, and (b) for the establishment of the altars, *i.e.* to secure a regular supply for the specified daily and fortnightly sacrifices. Daily sacrifice is to be offered to Melqart as dispenser of life on behalf of the family of Yatonba'al, and fortnightly sacrifice—on new moon and full moon<sup>7</sup>—is to be offered **לצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי**. As the point is a crucial one for the dating of the inscription, the history of Lapethos, and the chronology of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the writer must here record his conviction that C.-G.'s **כלאפתר** is not a conjectural restoration but a misreading of the text and that the end of l. 11 reads quite plainly **ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי**. The expression **צמח צדק**, as previous editors have noted, has close parallels in Phoenician<sup>8</sup> and Biblical Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Aelian, *Nat. An.* x. 50. My colleague Professor H. J. Rose draws attention to the parallel term *ἄφετος* in Greek, *e.g.* Aesch. *Prom.* 666 (of Io shortly to be metamorphosed into a cow); Plato (with whom the figure is a favourite one), *Rep.* 498c, *Prot.* 320a, and especially *Critias* 119d (*ἀφέτων ὄντων ταύρων ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ*). *Cf.* also Catullus LXIII, 13 and Tacitus, *German.* x. **גבל שד** is then the equivalent of *ἄλσος* in its wider technical sense. Similar features characterized the Arabian *himā* at at-Ṭāif and elsewhere; *cf.* Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*<sup>3</sup>, 142 ff., 156 ff. On the temple *τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ναρνακίου* (Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, 2779, corrected by Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 113) and its environs see Mitford in *Archiv* 13 (1938), 14, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* *Odyssey* III, 5–6; Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles*, 104; Plato, *Critias*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* *CIS* I, 165–7; *NSI* 117; Deuteronomy xiv. 3–6, &c. The kind of animal pertaining to a deity is less rigidly defined in Semitic than in Greek sacrificial usage; *cf.* Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, 471. The identification of Poseidon of Narnaka with Melqart (Berger, 76, *cf.* 70) may be regarded as certain, but at inland Narnaka the cult is unlikely to be that of Poseidon as a marine deity (*cf.* Berger, 76). Athene-Anat is worshipped on the same spot (Larn. Lap. 1), and the associations of the site are with the cult of the earth-mother and her consort. For this conjunction of deities in Arcado-Cyprian cult *cf.* the temple *Ἀθηνᾶ σωτῆρα καὶ Ποσειδῶνι* at Asea (Pausanias VIII, 44, 4; *cf.* Larn. Lap. 1, l. 1) and see Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* I, 38, 44–5.

<sup>4</sup> The case is not proven. The Hebrew word has sometimes a rather general sense (*e.g.* Job xxxi. 12); Biblical Hebrew is but a partial witness (*cf. infra* **תקמת**), and the word is a *hapax eiremenon* in Phoenician.

<sup>5</sup> Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, 305, 309. The reference to the victims which found their way unattended to the martyrion of Spiridion in Cyprus (*Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, VIII, xi. 28, trans. Chabot, II, 77), adduced in another connexion by *RES* no. 1211, now becomes apposite.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, I, 383.

<sup>7</sup> Whether the regular daily sacrifice was to be offered on those days also is not to be determined from the text, but there can be no question of a joint cult of Melqart and the Ptolemies; *cf.* Hill, *op. cit.*, 182, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *CIS* I, l. 1. 9 and especially *Ephemeris* II, 153 ff.; *cf.* Lidzbarski, *Altkananäische Texte*, 20 (**בן צדק** 'legitimate heir').

<sup>9</sup> Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, &c.

form **ולאשתו** 'and to his wives'<sup>1</sup> the present writer discusses elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> **ולאדמי** is neither an epigraphic<sup>3</sup> nor a phonological<sup>4</sup> substitute for **ולאדני** but comes from **דם(א)** 'blood';<sup>5</sup> the metaphor of 'blood' for 'kin' is more in accordance with Greek than with Canaanite idiom,<sup>6</sup> but it is not alien to the Semitic mode of thought.<sup>7</sup> Thus sacrifice is provided for (a) to Melqart, (b) to the legitimate successor, his wives, and his kin.<sup>8</sup>

Line 12. **כקדם**—i.e. sacrifices to Ptolemy and therefore a priest to Ptolemy were already instituted in Lapethos by Ptolemy's 11th year.

**הנחשת** **כּם הַדִּלַת הַנְחֶשֶׁת** i.q. **כּם הדלת הנחשת** 'according to the tablet of bronze'. **הנחשת** may be an adjective<sup>9</sup> or a noun in apposition of the thing and its material.<sup>10</sup>

Line 13. Cf. C.-G. The position of the clause **אש בן מנחת חני** and the consideration that a bronze plaque was but a trifle in comparison with the gifts already specified indicate **קר** and not **הדלת הנחשת** as the antecedent of **אש**. **בן**—**בִּין** or **בֶּן** (cf. *CIS* I, 3, l. 5)? The **קר** was the wall of masonry surrounding the *temenos*,<sup>11</sup> which was rebuilt in order to prevent the *apheta* from straying into it. Or should we read the letters as **אש בן מנחת חני** 'which they rebuilt for the safety of my offering', the thought then being that Yatonba'al's generosity was matched by the restoration of the *temenos*-wall at the expense of unnamed donors, e.g. the population at large?<sup>12</sup>

Line 14 init. is lost, and is followed by some four letters of uncertain reading and interpretation. The lacuna contained a specification of the silver article(s) dedicated along with the *apheta* and the *temenos*-wall.<sup>13</sup>

Line 16. [**ויסכר ל**] is a purely conjectural restoration; some such expression is demanded by the context.

For the date of the inscription there is no alternative to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The date-formulae in ll. 4, 6–7, 8, expressed in regnal years of 'Ptolemy, lord of kings, son of Ptolemy, lord of kings' preclude the reign of Soter. A later reign is ruled out by the fact that Phoenician was not generally employed, if at all, for epigraphic purposes after the time of Philadelphus (d. Jan. 246)<sup>14</sup> and by the fact that none of his immediate successors had a plurality of wives.<sup>15</sup> The curious expression **ולצמח צדק** 'and to the legitimate scion' applies not to the deceased Soter but to the reigning Philadelphus. Questions

<sup>1</sup> Actually plural, though theoretically the form might be dual. <sup>2</sup> *JRAS* for October 1940. <sup>3</sup> C.-G. 168.

<sup>4</sup> **מ** > **נ** only in complete assimilation; cf. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 29.

<sup>5</sup> With prothetic **א** as in *edom* (Augustine on Psalm cxxxvi 7) and Aramaic **אדם** (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 67, 161; cf. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.). The orthography of Larn. Lap. 1 and 3 shows that the very frequent prothetic *alef* of Larn. Lap. 2 is not an invariable characteristic of the Lapethan dialect of Phoenician. It would seem that Yatonba'al—or his stone-cutter—pronounced the preposition **ב** as *abi-*; thus where the preposition does not immediately follow a long vowel or diphthong an *alef* similar in character to Arabic *alif al-waṣl* is inserted. But the author is not quite consistent; cf. l. 7 **אבי אבי** with ll. 8–9 **פתלמיש אבחי אבי**.

<sup>6</sup> V. Liddell and Scott, s.v. *αἵμα*; Ezek. xxxv. 6 (MT, Symmachus and Rashi, but cf. LXX).

<sup>7</sup> Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*<sup>2</sup>, 25 ff., 39, n.; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, 204, 222.

<sup>8</sup> The preposition quite explicitly signifies sacrifice 'to' and not merely 'on behalf of' the rightful scion, &c., and thus none less than the Ptolemy himself can be intended.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hebrew **נחש** (Job vi. 12).

<sup>10</sup> Gesenius-Cowley, *Grammar*, §§ 127 h. 131 d.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ezek. viii. 7 ff. In *RES* no. 453 a similar structure is called a **מעק**; cf. *Iraq* 6 (1939), 104 f.

<sup>12</sup> **בן** impersonal; **מן** 'on account of'—cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, s.v., 2 f.; **נחת** as in the Ahiiram inscription.

<sup>13</sup> Is **כר** an abbreviation of **כרש**, the Persian *karša*, which was equal to 10 *šeqels*, and was employed at Elephantine in S. V B.C.? Cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, xxxi, Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, cxxiv, and, on Persian standards in Cyprus, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 112.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. l. 11.

as to the right of Soter to the crown could no longer be a live issue after his son had succeeded him; his reign was then past history, and its implications had already taken effect; it was not a matter to be debated or protested in a votive formula. But the case of Philadelphus was different. He was the youngest son of his father; and at this very time his claim was being disputed in Cyprus by his half-brother—one of Soter's children by Eurydice, possibly to be identified with Meleager—whose subversive activities brought about his execution shortly after the marriage with Arsinoe II.<sup>1</sup> Yatonba'al does not reproduce all the royal titles and epithets; he confines himself here to a recapitulation of the essential portions and emphasises that for him the only true successor of Soter is Philadelphus.

After the death of his father Ptolemy I Soter during the course of the year 283/2 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy II dated his reign from the time of his association with his father as co-regent or proxy, *i.e.* from the year 285/4, but also spasmodically for some 13 years of his reign from his accession as sole ruler, *i.e.* from the year 283/2.<sup>3</sup> The reference in l. 11 of Larn. Lap. 2 belongs to Ptolemy's fifth year, *i.e.* 281/0 or 279/8. The wives in question are Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachus of Thrace, and Arsinoe II, daughter of Soter I and Berenice I, widow of Lysimachus of Thrace and of Keraunos, and full sister of Philadelphus. As to the date and manner of the fall of Arsinoe I there is no direct evidence. The scholiast on Theocritus xvii, 128 states that she was discovered plotting against Ptolemy along with one Amyntas and a Rhodian physician named Chrysippus and was banished to Koptos in the Thebaid.<sup>4</sup> She is not mentioned in connexion with the *pompe* of Callixenus<sup>5</sup> which took place in 279/8<sup>6</sup> and may therefore be presumed to have fallen from favour and to be banished *a mensa et toro*, perhaps also from court, by that date.<sup>7</sup> Arsinoe II<sup>8</sup> cannot have reached Egypt before 279<sup>9</sup> and thus the fifth year of Ptolemy, in which the two wives occur together, is the year 279/8, *i.e.* the regnal years of Ptolemy are counted from his accession as sole ruler. It follows that the marriage of Arsinoe II took place not later than the month Pa'ulot<sup>10</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, I, vii, 1; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* I, 166; Hill, *op. cit.*, 186.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat, in *Mizraim* 6 (1937), 31.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat, *ibid.* 13, 30 ff.; Glanville, *op. cit.*, xix.

<sup>4</sup> By itself ἐξέπεμψεν might mean 'divorced'; so far as I am aware, the word has always been understood as 'exiled', which sense seems to me to be demanded by the following εἰς Κοπτὸν τῆς Θηβαΐδος. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, I, 162, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Athenaeus 203 A-B.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn in *Hermes* 65 (1930), 446. To the date 271/0 proposed by Otto in *Philologus* 86 (1931), 400 the present inscription offers another objection in addition to those adduced by Tarn.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tarn in *JHS* 63 (1933), 60.

<sup>8</sup> Her death took place on July 9th, 270. Her marriage to Philadelphus has usually been dated to 276 or 275 (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, I, 160, n. 4; *CAH* VII, 703; *JHS* 46 (1926), 161), though Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, IV, ii, 182 accepts 279/8 as the likeliest date. The longer her reign the easier it is to understand the vast reputation which she bequeathed to posterity.

<sup>9</sup> She was in Cassandria during the winter of 281/0. Early in 280 Keraunos murdered Seleucus, took possession of Macedonia, fought his war with Gonatas, negotiated Arsinoe out of Cassandria and married her. After the murder of her son by Keraunos she escaped to Samothrace and thence came to her brother.

<sup>10</sup> Yatonba'al's dedications were made in commemoration of the marriage, but it does not follow that they were made precisely at the time of the marriage. A date not earlier than the spring of 278 is required to allow the necessary interval for Arsinoe's arrival in Egypt and the consequent arrangements. This agrees with what little we know regarding the position of Pa'ulot (or whatever the vocalization) in the Phoenician calendar. There appears to have been a festival in honour of Melqart-Rešef on the 16th of the month; cf. *RES* no. 1213 and *CIS* I, 88, where the reading '16th' is not absolutely certain, but some date between the 14th and 19th of Pa'ulot is required. The festival has not been identified. In *CIS* I, 86 A follows B in order; עקב at the head of 86 B is to be regarded *quasi titulus* (*CIS ad loc.*), perhaps '(table of) recompense, dues'; the alternative rendering 'continuation' is unlikely. The month Pa'ulot, therefore, is fixed as preceding אֲתֹנִים (October–November) in the Phoenician calendar, though not necessarily as immediately anterior to the latter. פִּעֻלָּה means 'yield, harvest' (cf. תְּבוּאָה // פִּעֻלָּה in Proverbs x. 16) and the name would suit any of the summer months.

the year 278, a few months at most after her arrival in Egypt. The formula used by the Lapethan votary is chosen quite deliberately and is not merely a reflection of his uncertainty as to the actual state of affairs in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Although relegated to Koptos she remained wife of Ptolemy for an unknown period.<sup>2</sup> Her position there is fitly symbolized by her title 'the king's wife, the grand, filling the palace with her beauties, giving repose to the heart of King Ptolemy', without the royal cartouche about her name.<sup>3</sup> The final phrase in l. 11 is equally diplomatic. As a foundation made in perpetuity ought to provide for all foreseeable eventualities, so it covers impartially (a) the case of the Ptolemy's children by Arsinoe I, whom, after Arsinoe II had died without providing a son, he 'ascribed' to her; (b) the contingency of issue by Arsinoe II, and (c) the case of his nephew Ptolemaeus, son of Arsinoe II and Lysimachus, whom he adopted and made co-regent.<sup>4</sup>

The prescription of sacrifices on each new moon and full moon (l. 12) provokes the suggestion that these sacrifices were intended to mark the monthly celebration of the royal accession and *genethlia* respectively.<sup>5</sup> Such an hypothesis would help to account for the unusual prevalence of the name Noumenios at Lapethos in the third century,<sup>6</sup> but it must be admitted that, apart from these special features, neomenial and dichomenial sacrifices in a Semitic community require no further explanation.

The equation (ll. 4-5) of the 11th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, i.e. 273/2 with the 33rd year of the people of Lapethos fixes the latter as having commenced in 305/4. This can only mean that after having vanquished the Ptolemaic army and navy in 306, Demetrius Poliorketes proceeded to a reorganization of the island, in the course of which he gave to Lapethos what had been given to the chief Phoenician city, Kition, by Ptolemy himself in 311—a civic era to serve in the republican constitution as the regnal dating had served under the monarchy. It is likely enough that the office of *rab 'ereš* was introduced after the deposition of Praxippos in 313,<sup>7</sup> but Ptolemy had thought it unnecessary or inexpedient

<sup>1</sup> Else he would not have perpetuated his uncertainty in an inscription framed some six years later. The terms of the inscription, as suggested above, are adapted or abridged from the text of the contemporary bronze plaque (l. 12).

<sup>2</sup> The later Ptolemaic practice of having only one legitimate wife at once does not constitute any objection to this view. Eurydice and Berenice were for a time simultaneous wives of Ptolemy Soter I, and it is unlikely that the five children by Eurydice (m. 323-321) were all born before the marriage with Berenice, the fruit of which, Arsinoe, was a marriageable woman by about 300 B.C. Cf. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 52. Egyptian custom permitted royal polygamy, and Egyptian and Oriental usage counted for as much with the early Ptolemies as did Greek opinion, as witness the marriage of Ptolemy II with his full sister; cf. Cumont in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.*, 1924, 53 ff.; Kornemann in *Klio* 19 (1925), 355.

<sup>3</sup> Gizeh Museum 1357; cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 75. The reference cannot be to Arsinoe II. In Koptos Arsinoe I would be a person of more than local importance. Unless Ptolemy adopted Arsinoe II's son by Lysimachus at the time of the marriage, Arsinoe I was still mother of the heirs to the throne; and dislike of the brother-sister marriage, which was only partly silenced by court censorship, would be accompanied by support for Arsinoe I.

<sup>4</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.*, IV, ii, 183-4; *JHS* 46, 160.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Canopus Decree, 5-6; Rosetta Stone, 46; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII, 1138. The day of Philadelphus's birth is unknown. His accession as joint ruler was on Dystros 25 or 26, and this has commonly been supposed to be his birthday. Cf. *Mizraim* 6, 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Archiv* 13, 14-15.

<sup>7</sup> Yatonba'al, who seems to have received the title on the death of his father some time between 279/8 and 273/2, was the third holder of the office among the descendants of Šallum. This is not conclusive against the introduction of the office in 305/4 or in 295, but it is likely enough that some such post was created when Lapethos was attached to Salamis on the abolition of the independent monarchy in 313. Thus there would be continuity not only of name but also of function in the post of *rab 'ereš* from the beginning of the republican constitution, the only change being in the overlord.

to treat the more distant Lapethans in the way in which he had sought to conciliate the more important Kitians. Ptolemy's neglect was Demetrius's opportunity. That an era which owed its inception to his rivals should be retained by Ptolemy when he retook the island in 295 was not merely a gesture towards the Lapethans, but was agreeable to Ptolemy himself, for the beginning of the era of Lapethos happened to coincide with the assumption of the title of king by Ptolemy I Soter.<sup>1</sup> In Larn. Lap. 2 the dates are equated only for the first entry; probably therefore the civic New Year of Lapethos was adjusted to coincide with the Ptolemaic New Year after 295; with this adjustment the Lapethan era agreed completely with the era of the Ptolemies.

<sup>1</sup> Strack, *op. cit.*, 191; *Mizraim* 6, 29. The date 297 given by Oberhummer (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XII, 764) appears to rest on an arithmetical miscalculation of Berger's figures.



## TWO DEMOTIC SELF-DEDICATIONS

By SIR HERBERT THOMPSON

IN a short paper read before the Papyrological Congress at Oxford in 1937 and printed in the *Actes du V Congrès Intern. de Papyrologie* (Brussels, 1937), 497–504, I called attention to a group of demotic papyri in the British Museum (B.M.Eg. 10618–39) containing dedications by individuals of themselves and their children to a god. There are thirty-seven documents altogether on which are recorded about fifty separate dedications, but few are complete. The texts are all based, however, on a single scheme, so that it is possible to restore the missing parts of the fragmentary ones with some confidence. About fifteen are dated, the dates ranging from the 10th year of Epiphanes (195 B.C.) to the 33rd year of Euergetes II (137 B.C.), and the undated ones may be attributed on palaeographical grounds to much the same limits.

The papyri came to the Museum by purchase about ten years ago, and from the contents were clearly part of the archives of the temple of Soknebtynis, the crocodile god Sobek at Tebtynis.

The documents contain petitions to the god, the suppliant (who may be male or female) undertaking to become his servant (*bk*) together with his children and grandchildren, and to pay a monthly sum of money to the priests, and he binds himself not to quit the precincts of the temple; and in return for these terms he stipulates that the god shall protect him from those various forms of supernatural influence which continually threatened the life of every good Egyptian. Thus the document forms a sort of moral contract between the suppliant and his god, and the fullest specimens are drawn up on the lines of a legal contract by a scribe, occasionally with a royal protocol and witnesses. But they were contracts incapable of legal enforcement except, it may be, by the priests against the suppliant on his promises with regard to payment of a service-rent and the enforced residence within the precincts.

The papyri fall into three groups:

- (i) Seven in which the suppliant is an individual of known parentage, not necessarily Egyptian. One is styled 'the Egyptian-born Greek . . . (name lost) who is called *Pete-Sbk* (*πετεσουχος*), son of Nikanor and Artemidora', and another (fem.) '*Ta-p-nb-tn* (*ταβεβτυνις*) called Sarapias daughter of Sosipolis and Teuxon (?)';
- (ii) twenty-three in which the suppliant is described as a youth (*hl-hwt*) or girl (*hl-s-hm-t*), either 'free-born' or 'born in the precincts', with a named mother by an anonymous father described as 'I know not his name' or 'his name is not known';
- (iii) seven larger fragments containing abbreviated entries of names and undertakings as in (ii), all of anonymous paternity, written one below the other and forming parts of registers. These fragments contain about twenty registrations and need not concern us further here.

Thus the great majority of these documents are concerned with individuals having anonymous paternity; and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a system of temple prostitution existed at the Sobek temple.

In spite of the dictum of Herodotus (II, 64) that this practice was unknown in Egypt in his time (c. 450 B.C.) there are traces of it, at any rate, in the Ptolemaic period (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, III, 205–8, IV, 123–6). It may have been introduced into Egypt during the Persian occupation (525–332 B.C.), as it had long been prevalent in Mesopotamia and Persia. But it is remarkable that this first recorded instance of it should be found at a temple of so thoroughly native a deity as Sobek. However, this subject must be debated elsewhere. Here I will only remark that the *ἱερόδουλος* (*bk*) is a temple servant or slave without any necessary connexion with temple prostitution.

In the temples the religious services were conducted by the priests of various ranks; but every large temple had its proportionately large retinue of servants who as artificers in stone, wood, and metal-work were employed on the buildings and their repairs, and the elaborate furniture in connexion with the religious functions, &c., and besides these a body of herdsmen to tend their cattle and farm labourers to cultivate their estates in those agricultural operations which made Egypt the granary of the Mediterranean countries. The overseers and superior workmen doubtless were, though nominally servants or slaves (*bk*) of the god, practically free men. We find men called *ἱm bk* (*γεωργός*?) of the god holding land from father to son, inheriting it and disposing of it without any restrictions (expressed in the legal documents) by the priests—and even holding and disposing of adjacent lands belonging partly to the temple estate and partly royal land (*γῆ βασιλική*) without any interference by the temple or the State, just as if it were private property (see *P. Hauswaldt* 1, 3, 7, 10, *temp.* Philadelphus and Euergetes I). But though these tenants enjoyed this freedom of disposal, they were bound to farm the land and keep it irrigated, to sow and reap their crops in accordance with orders received from the temple or State authorities, which were practically identical in economic matters at this period.

Such hereditary farmers and herdsmen—and the workmen and artificers probably were largely hereditary also—would presumably need no dedication, but were *ipso facto* ‘servants’. Why then should these suppliants of our documents require dedication and moreover to be specially protected from evil influences? Did not the god guarantee to all his ‘servants’ his protection without its being asked—and paid for? Or did the god keep a special department for dealing with the obsessed? I fear I must leave it to others, or to future papyrus discoveries to answer these questions.

I had wished that it might be possible for me to produce a complete edition of the whole group. Under the present conditions I cannot hope to do this. I have now no access to libraries and have had to compile this paper from my own notes and books alone. Hence the restricted and imperfect nature of this publication. Having given a translation of these two papyri in my Congress paper, I felt it incumbent on me to provide at least reproductions of the originals with such treatment as I could give them, and to this wish the authorities of the British Museum kindly acceded.

I may add that two somewhat similar dedications—with named fathers—are recorded by Revillout in his *Mélanges*, 1895, pp. 183–4, note: one made to Isis and associated gods, with a rent and a hemiolla and a list of evils; and the other by a man who includes his wife and undertakes to pay a rent but there is no list of evils, nor any restriction on his liberty.

#### B.M.Eg. 10622 (Pl. XII)

Among the dated papyri in this group this one is the latest. It was selected because the suppliant is a woman with an Egyptian name, who is the daughter of a named father and mother, and there is no suggestion of temple prostitution. It is one of only seven such ‘known paternity’ documents. It gives no information as to the suppliant’s position in life;

yet she undertakes to pay the monthly service-rent to the priests. There is no mention of her husband; that she had one is only implied in the mention of her children; but as that is a common formula, it may only mean her future children, if she should ever have any.

There is a scribe's name, but no witnesses. The document is 12 inches in height, and its width 6 (30×15 cm.); the recto contains 18 lines of writing, complete except for slight lacunae. The verso is blank.

(1) *H-sp 33 2-pr ss 23 n Pr-ꜥ Ptllwms 'rm Klwptr* (2) *n ntr-w mnḥ na Ptllwmys 'rm Klwptr n ntr-w pr 'rm t Pr-ꜥ-t Klw-*(3)*[ptr] te-f ḥm-t t ntr-t mnḥ-t wḥ ḏgsntrw n ntr-w nt nḥm n ntr-w sn-w n ntr-w* (4) *[mnḥ]w n ntr-w mr-yt-w n ntr-w pr p ntr a-tn yt-f p ntr mr-mut 'rm n ntr-w mnḥ-w nt n Rc-*(5)*kte t fy šp kn mbḥ Brnyge t ntr-t mnḥ-t nt n Rc-kte* (6) *t fy tn nb mbḥ ḥrsyne t mr-sn nt n Rc-kte t wḥ ḥrsyne* (7) *[t mr-]yt-s nt n Rc-kte*

*Dd bk-t s-ḥm-t Ta-p-nb-t-tn* (8) *s-t Sbk-mn mut-s 'S-wry mbḥ pe ḥry Sbk nb T-tn* (9) *p ntr ꜥ 'nky te-k bk-t ḥnꜥ ne ḥrd-w n ḥrd-w n ne ḥrd-w bn e-y rh* (10) *'r rm ḥ-nmḥ n pe-k pr šꜥ d-t nḥ(?) mte-k nḥt-y mte-k nḥm-y mte-k* (11) *ḥrh a-ḥr-y mte-k dj wd-y mte-k nḥt-y a 'ḥy nb 'ḥy s-ḥm-t(?) nb* (12) *rm e-f sḏr nb rm šn-ntr(?) nb ḥsy e nb ḥmr nb ḥms nb 'n-mut nb* (13) *[rm p] yr nb rm p d nb sšr nb dršy nb wry nb* (14) *[t;w(?)]-rwt nb n p t mte-y dj n-k ḥd 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  te-f ps 5/6(?) a ḥd 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  n n ḥmt ḥd(?) 24 a ḥd 2* (15) *[n(?)] pe škr n bk ḥr 'bd nb t ḥ-sp 33 2-pr šꜥ p mḥ rnp-t 99* (16) *[a(?)] 'bd 1204 $\frac{1}{2}$  a rnp-t 99 n mte-y dj st n ne-k wḥ-w ḥr 'bd nb a-bnp-y dj* (17) *wdb ḥd n 'bd a pe-f 're n'm-w mte-k ḥnꜥ ne-k rd-w n nt nḥty a md-t nb* (18) *nt dd 'rm-y(?) rn md-t nb nt ḥry mte-y(?) 'r-w a ḥrw-k n ḥtr 't mn* a(?) *sh Pa . . . s M[-Rc(?)]*

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Year 33 Mechir 23 of King Ptolemy and Cleopatra (2) the gods Euergetai, the (children) of Ptolemy and Cleopatra the gods Epiphaneis, and Queen Cleo-(3)[patra] his wife the goddess Euergetis, the priest of Alexander, the gods Soteris, the gods Adelphoi, the gods (4) [Euerge]tai, the gods Philopatores, the gods Epiphaneis, the god Eupator, the god Philometor, and the gods Euergetai, being he who is in Rakote, (5) (and) the Athlophoros before Berenice the goddess Euergetis she who is in Rakote, (6) (and) the Canephoros before Arsinoe Philadelphos she who is in Rakote, (and) the priestess of Arsinoe (7) [Philo]pator she who is in Rakote,

Hath said the female servant Tanebtynis (8) daughter of Sokmenis, her mother being Esoeris, before my master Soknebtynis (9) the great god: I am thy servant (fem.) together with my children (and) my children's children; I shall not be able (10) to be free in thy precincts for ever and ever. Thou shalt protect me, thou shalt keep me safe, thou shalt (11) guard me, thou shalt keep me sound, thou shalt protect me from every (male) spirit, every female spirit, (12) every sleeping man, every epileptic (?), every drowned man, every *ḥmr*, every incubus (?), every dead man, (13) every [man of] the river, every madman (?), every fiend, every red thing, every *wry*, (14) every pestilence (?) whatsoever.

I will give thee 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  *kite*, its half  $\frac{5}{8}$  (?) = 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  *kite* again in copper *kite* (?) (at) 24 to 2 *kite* silver (15) [for] my rent of service in each month from year 33 Mechir till the completion of 99 years (16) [=]1204 $\frac{1}{2}$  months = 99 years again, and I will give it to thy priests monthly, without having (17) altered the silver of the month to its fellow. Thou and thy bailiffs are those who shall be entrusted with everything (18) (and) who speak with me (?) in respect of everything aforesaid, and I will do them at thy bidding compulsorily without delay.

Wrote (it) Pa. . . . son of Marres (?).

#### NOTES

1. 1. Year 33 of Euergetes II Mechir 27 = 137 B.C. March 21.
1. 2. *na* (*nj*) lit. those of or belonging to, cf. *Ryl.*, 347; Spiegelberg, *Demot. Gram.* § 11. I know no other instance of this use in the royal protocol.
1. 7. The repetition of 'who is in Rakote' is unusual.

*bk-t*. This is the invariable word denoting the relationship of the petitioner to the god. It is a word of very wide meaning, used for various forms of servitude from actual slavery, e.g. of prisoners of war upwards. Hence I employ the rendering 'servant' in preference to 'slave' as being non-committal. For the very similar documents in *Rylands Pap.* III to VII but of earlier date Griffith preferred the word 'slave' (*ibid.*, 52, n. 6) since it could not be a case of 'mere hired service'. But there are intermediate kinds of service. In these Br. Mus. papyri for instance the *bk* may make money by his labour and can pay a service-rent (*škr n bk*) to his masters, but he is prevented from transferring his labour to others and consents to restrictions on his personal liberty. And Griffith himself qualifies his own statement on p. 59, n. 5.

l. 8. *pe* sic, not *pe-s*.

*Sbk nb T-tn*, the crocodile god of Tebtynis in the Fayum.

l. 9. In these papyri the suppliant binds his grandchildren as well as his children, which I have not observed elsewhere. He never includes his wife, nor does a female suppliant bind her husband.

l. 10. *rm h-nmh* 'a free man'. For the form of the word and its history see Excursus A. *š d-t nh(?)*. Whether the small group following *d-t* is a separate word or merely an extended determinative of it is uncertain.

*mte-k nht-y*. For this hortative use of the conjunctive cf. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* §§ 152 and 495, and C. F. Nims in *JEÄ* 24, 77.

ll. 11-14. This is an unusually full list of evils from which the suppliant prays for protection. They are collected in alphabetical order and discussed in Excursus B.

l. 14. In the great majority of these documents the payment is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *kite* per month. Here half that amount is promised. There is a difficulty about the dimidiation. It should be the half of  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , i.e.  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$ . There is no special symbol for  $\frac{5}{8}$  and the scribe appears to have written that for  $\frac{5}{8}$  as a sufficient approximation, or by an error on his part.

*n hmt*, &c. See as regards this formula Sethe, *Bürgschaften*, 213.

l. 15. *škr n bk*, or *škr* alone, is the regular term for the payment due from the suppliant as a 'servant'. It is a usual word for the rent of a house or land or for the hire of an office &c. and it passes into Coptic as *ⲩⲥⲟⲣ*, F. *ⲩⲥⲁⲣ* (Crum, *Dict.* 619a). It is a strange feature of these documents that the suppliant after abandoning himself, children, and property to the god retains the right over some property (or earnings) sufficient to pay rent.

*rnpt 99*. This term of years with its precise equivalent in months replaces the usual *š d-t* 'for ever' in six of these papyri. It may be taken to represent an ideal limit of old age. It is found elsewhere in connexion with a lease of the office of a choachyte in a papyrus B.M.Eg. 10240 (ed. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts*, 57) and in two unedited papyri formerly in the possession of F. Ll. Griffith; cf. also the Greek *P. Magdola* XXIX. ed. Jouguet and Lefebure *ap.* Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, 403; and P.S.I. 549 *ap.* Cl. Préaux, 'L'Économie Royale des Lagides', 315.

l. 16. *a-bnp-y* lit. 'I not having altered'; for this use see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* §§ 199-200 and the note on l. 14 of no. 10624 below. There is a somewhat similar provision in agricultural leases (Sethe, *Bürgschaften*, 197) and in these also the power given to the bailiff to settle disputes is frequent.

#### B.M.Eg. 10624 (Pl. XIII)

This document of the 10th year of Epiphanes is the earliest dated specimen of the whole group. It has a full protocol with named priests, and at the bottom are the names of four witnesses. The suppliant is a 'free-born youth' whose paternity is unknown, but who has a named mother. He bears an Egyptian name, as also his mother. For the inferences to be drawn from these facts, see the Introduction. It measures  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5 ( $29 \times 12.6$  cm.),

the recto contains 23 lines, including the subscriptions of the scribe and four witnesses; the verso is blank.

(1) *H-sp 10-t 2-pr Pr- $\epsilon$  Ptlumys s Ptlumys* (2) *'rm rrsyne n ntr-w mr-yt-w w $\epsilon$ b rrgsntrs* (3) *n ntr-w sn-w n ntr-w mn $\bar{h}$  n ntr-w mr-yt-w p(?) ntr nt pr* (4) *nt ne- $\epsilon$ n te-f md-t-nfr-t 'rm Pr- $\epsilon$  Ptlumys 'w $\bar{k}$ -(5)rsuds [sic] syl.s(?) s andrn a(?) s-hm-t stphwrs* (6) *ymn: ta hprbsmds fy šp kn* (7) *mb $\bar{h}$  Bryge [sic] t ntr-t mn $\bar{h}$  a s-hm-t Prhe* (8) *t šrt Pyrnuws fy tnwe(?) nb mb $\bar{h}$  rrs[yn $\bar{e}$ ]* (9) *t mr-sn a Hyrne t šrt Ptrumys t w $\epsilon$ b rrs[yn $\bar{e}$ ]* (10) *t mr-yt-s*

*Dd hr-hwt ms h-nmh 'y-[m-h $\bar{t}$ p?]* (11) *s b-'r-rh-y rn-f mw-t-f T-šr-t-'mn mb $\bar{h}$  Sbk nb T-tn 'nk [pe-k bk]* (12) *hnc ne hrd-w hnc n hrd-w ne hrd-w hnc nt nb nk nb [nt mte-y]* (13) *hnc n nt e-y dj hp-w n t p hw a hry mte-y dj n-k(?) [kd 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  škr?]* (14) *bk mb $\bar{h}$  Sbk nb T-tn hr 'bd nb a-bn e-y dj w[db] hd* (15) *n'm-w a-hr-y n 'bd a pe-f 're <p> nt e-f wdb mte-y dj [s rrm pe-f 1 a 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ]* (16) *n p 'bd nt e m-s p 'bd rn-f p bl p škr [nt hry?]* (17) *'t mn a bne rh(?) ššr wry šsy . .* (18) *rm e-f šdr rm 'mnt 'r(?) shy n'm-y 'rm ne (?) [hrd-w hnc?]* (19) *n hrd-w n ne hrd-w m-s-k(?) bn e-y rh ['r h-nmh?]* (20) *'rm ne hrd-w n hrd-w ne hrd-w n(?) pe-k [pr š $\epsilon$  d-t?]*

(21) *sh P-dj-Thwt P-dj(?)-'mn a sh Sbk(?) . . . . .*

(22) *sh Sbk . . . s . . . sh Pa . . . . Hr . .*

(23) *sh Pa-hp . . . .*

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Year 10 Mechir of King Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy (2) and Arsinoe the gods Philopatores, the priest of Alexander (3) (and) the gods Adelphoi, the gods Euergetai, the gods Philopatores, the god Epiphanes (4) Eucharistos, and the god Ptolemy Eucharistos (5), being Syl... son of Andron, the lady Ath[lo]phoros (6) Iamneia daughter of *Hprbsmts* (Hyperbassas?) being the bearer of the prize of victory (7) before Berenice the goddess Euergetis, the lady Pyrrha (8) daughter of Pyranos(?) being the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe (9) Philadelphos, Eirene daughter of Ptolemaios being the priestess of Arsinoe (10) Philopator.

Hath said the free-born youth Imhotep (11) son of 'I know not his name', his mother being Senamun, before Soknebtynis: I am [thy servant] (12) together with my children and my children's children and all the property and chattels [belonging to me] (13) and those which I shall acquire from to-day onwards; and I will give thee [2 $\frac{1}{2}$  (?) *kite* for rent] (14) of service before Soknebtynis in every month, I not altering the silver (?) (15) of them as my debt (?) from one month to the next. The (amount) which is altered, I have to pay it [as 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  (?)] (16) in the month following the month named, besides the rent [aforesaid (?)] (17) without delay. Nor shall be able (any) fiend, *wry*, . . . . (18) sleeping man, man of Amente to dominate me and my [children and] (19) my children's children except thee (?). I shall not be able [to be free] (20) with my children and my children's children in thy [precincts for ever (?)].

(21) wrote Petethoout son of Petamun. Wrote Sebek . . . . .

(22) Wrote Sebek . . . . .

(23) Wrote Pa-Hapi son of . . . Wrote . . . . .

#### NOTES

1. 1. Year 10 Mechir of Epiphanes = 195 B.C. Mar.-Apr.

1. 4. The addition of 'and King Ptolemy Eucharistos', Euch. being transliterated into demotic script, is a mistake of the scribe. The reigning king's name should only appear once at the end of the list of deified Ptolemies. Strange also is the vernacular rendering of *εὐχάριστος* in this line 'whose favour is beautiful', followed by the demotic transcription immediately afterwards.

11. 5-10. The names of the priests and priestesses probably represent the Greek names *σὺλ* . . . son of *ἀνδρων*. *ιαμνεία* dau. of *ὑπερβασσας*, *πυρρα* dau. of *Πυρνω* (*πυρανός*?). Cf. 'Eponymous Priests' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 20, no. 42 and note.

1. 6. Hyperbassas is a Macedonian name which appears in the Greek as *ὑπερβασσαντος*

(gen.), and this accounts for the strange demotic forms. It occurs on another fragmentary papyrus of this group (B.M. Eg. 10629b) as *hrbsts*.

l. 10. The terms *hr-hwt*, *hr-s-hm-t* 'young man, young woman' have been hitherto unrecorded in demotic; only the related *hm-hl* 'boy' (cf. Möller, *Pap. Rhind*, p. 45 note), which in Coptic is Ⲅⲁⲣⲁⲗ 'servant', and Ⲅⲣⲣⲓⲣⲉ 'youth' (B. Ⲛⲉⲗⲩ. F. Ⲅⲉⲗⲩ. Crum, *Dict.* 585b) is known. The *hr-hwt* can hardly be a 'boy', as the usual stipulations are not appropriate to other than adults. 'Born free' as opposed to *ms hn pr* 'born within the precincts' of the temple.

l. 11. *b-r rh-y rn-f* 'anonymous'. This is earliest of the 'Anonymous paternity' group. Cf. the use of *p b-r-rh-f* as a subst. 'unknown person', of a mummy in *P. Berlin* 3089/3.

It also occurs as a proper name, Griffith. *Ryl.* III, p. 461 and n. 5 on p. 275; Id., *P. Adler* no. 12 recto.

l. 13. I have inserted *kḏ 2½* as that is the usual amount of the *škr* in these documents.

ll. 14-15. For the understanding of this formula it is necessary to premise that the verb *wdb* is neuter and means 'to be altered, or suffer change', whereas the causative *dj wdb* has the active sense 'to alter a thing' (cf. *Berl. Wb.* I, 408; Crum, *Dict.* 496a ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃ). There are two clauses 'I will give thee a rent in every month without altering the silver for which I am responsible (?) from one month to another'. The second is 'The (amount) which is altered, I have to pay the penalty of the ἡμολία', or as we should say, 'If the amount is altered, I undertake to pay the penalty'.

l. 15. *a-hr-y* may = 'against me' Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* § 344 (γ), or here more probably 'on my responsibility' or 'as my debt' in the sense in which *επο-* is used in Coptic, cf. Crum, *Dict.* 51a under f(b). Cf. *P. Berl.* 3108/3 *e gm w' ḳr a-hr-y* translated by Sethe (*P. Hauswaldt*, p. 19) 'es findet sich ein Depositum zu meinen Lasten'. <p.> I have inserted a *p* before *nt* because it is found in seven other instances of this formula. It stands for *p škr*.

The lost words at the end of the line were probably the ἡμολία the penalty of 1 a 1½ for non-fulfilment; it is found on three or four other members of the group. Cf. Sethe, *Bürgschaften*, 28-9.

l. 17. The list of evil influences is curiously short and unusual, so much so that it seems likely that this document is a copy and the copyist has left out a line or two of his original. Cf. his inaccuracy in l. 4 *supra*.

ll. 21-3. Presumably the signatures of the scribe and four witnesses.

#### Excursus A. BK and NMḥ

It is obvious that a just interpretation of this group of papyri depends on the meaning of the two words *bk* and *nmḥ*. They occur in nearly every document and they are correlated. The scheme of each document begins with the words 'I am thy *bk*' and ends with 'I shall not be able to be *nmḥ* in thy house (i.e. the god's temple precincts)'. Therefore we must consider them briefly.

*BK* is a very old word, its use extending from the Old Kingdom down to Coptic times. The *Berlin Wörterbuch*, I, 429, gives the general meaning as *Diener* 'servant', whether of a private master, or of royal officials, or of the worshipper of a god. But it is not often used of slaves who existed in large numbers as prisoners of war and in the service of the Pharaoh and the temples, and who were described as *hm-w* (*Berl. Wb.* III, 87) or *rm-w*; *bk*, however, was applied to slaves occasionally in the New Kingdom from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, e.g.:

Dyn. XVIII Stela of Nauri. *JEA* 13, 193, l. 100 (Griffith).

" " Pap. Louvre 3230. *JEA* 12, 70 (Peet) *bk-t* 'female slave'.

" " Pap. BM.Eg. 10107, *JEA* 14, 304 (Glanville) *bk-t*.

In Saite and Persian times we find *bk* used

- (a) alone as a title, presumably of a god unnamed: year 38 of Ahmes 532 B.C. Pap. Louvre L7850; *temp.* Ahmes Pap. Louvre L7854;
- (b) in contracts relating to sales of slaves: 31 Psamtek I, 632 B.C. Vatican pap., *cf.* Griffith *Ryl.* III, 18, 58; 4 Psamtek II, 589–8 B.C. inscribed on a dish Louvre L706; 2–8 Ahmes, 568–2 B.C. Griffith *Ryl.* III, nos. III–VII all relating to a single *bk*; 6 Darius I, 516 B.C. Bib. Nat. 223;
- (c) in contracts containing lists of property:
  - 5 Darius I, 517 B.C. B.M.Eg. 10120 ed. Reich *Pap. jur. Inhalts.*: marriage settlement.
  - 5 „ 517 B.C. Bib. Nat. 216, *cf.* *Ryl.*, *u.s.*, p. 28, no. 44: endowment of a child.
  - 24 „ 498 B.C. Louvre L9293: acknowledgement of a loan of corn.
  - 35 „ 487 B.C. P.Berlin 3110: agreement as to a cow.

In all these lists in (c) the *bk* is the owner's property as much as his house or his cattle.

That these are really slaves and not hiring agreements of servants seems evident from the terms of them (Griffith, *Ryl.*, *u.s.*, 51, 52, n. 6). The wording of the Rylands documents so closely resembles that of our documents that they clearly denote a similar relationship between the master (or god) and his 'slave' or servant.

For the Ptolemaic period Westermann *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* should be consulted, especially pp. 48–62. He deals with their employment for domestic purposes and industry.

With regard to the use of *bk* in this period, Sethe, *Bürgschaften*, 36, gives a list of instances where it occurs in connexion with various gods, *i.e.* temples. He also remarks that it is more usually found in compounds with a preceding word specifying the work on which the *bk* was employed, e.g. *ḫm bk* 'cattle herd', *wjḫ bk* 'worker on the land', &c., the latter being probably hereditary tenants 'die in einem Hörigkeitsverhältnis zu dem Heiligtum standen': and Spiegelberg supported this view in his *Hauswaldt Papyri*, 2, where he suggests that 'die Ackerbauern sind Erbpachtbauern d. h. genau genommen Pächter von Staatsland (*βασιλική γῆ*) als welches ja theoretisch auch das Tempelland betrachtet wurde'.

These hereditary holdings in course of time, as the temples lost their large estates to the crown, tended to become private property *ιδιόκτητος γῆ*, as to which see below under NMH and especially *cf.* Cl. Préaux, *L'Économie Royale des Lagides*, 1939, 459–63.

It may be that the title of *bk* of a great god was sought after as a title of honour by persons of position, e.g. in B.M. 10240 (Reich, *op. cit.*, p. 56) one of the parties to a lease is a 'divine father (and) servant (*bk*) of Amon at Thebes'.

NMH. So far as is known to us *nmh* is a designation from the Middle Kingdom onwards of Egyptians in relation to their status. The *Berl. Wb.* II, 268 describes the *nmh* man as of low condition, humble in contrast with the *wr* or *wsr* and so also the layman as opposed to the official (see the *Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 392).

In Dyn. XX (Papyrus Lansing ed. by Erman and Lange 1925) there is a reference to *nmh·w nꜥ sꜥ·w mj nꜥs·w* who settle in a new city, 'Burger die grossen wie die kleinen'.

In Dyn. XXI *Admonitions of Amenemapt* (B.M.Eg. 10474), ed. Lange, IX, 5, 'the *nmh* by the hand of god is more blessed than abundance in the granary' (Lange renders *nmh* by 'die Armut').

It is, however, chiefly in evidence in relation to land. The *Berl. Wb.*, *u.s.*, mentions *sh·t nmhu* 'Art Acker', but defines it no further. It would seem to be the land of the *nmh* who must be a small holder as compared with the great landowner.

In Dyn. XXII the 'Will of Eueret' (Legrain and Erman, *ZÄS* 35, 13, 1897) mentions

land *nmḥ-nṣ*<sup>1</sup> which he had bought from *nmḥ-w p t*; see Griffith, *Ryl.* III, 13. These latter were small holders of land independent of the temple lands, and from the independence of their land, the quality seems to have attached itself to the owner whose status rises, and the *nmḥ* is marked out as the man who owns land of his own which he can dispose of, but it is on a small scale. He is a peasant owner or small farmer. Cf. *Ryl.*, 52, n. 7, which, however, was written long before the identification of *nmḥ* with **ⲡⲏⲟⲩ**. To the Twenty-second Dynasty also belongs the Dakhleh Stela (Br. Mus.), ed. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 19, 19. It shows that similar independent rights in some wells of the Oasis could be held by *p nmḥ* side by side with the king's rights over others. This water was called *mw-nmḥy*. The use of the word seems to lay stress not on their insignificance but on their independence of the royal rights.

In Dyn. XXVI there are two demotic sales of *nmḥ* land in the reign of Psamtek I. In year 30 a brother and sister sell some land which had descended to them from their father and is described as being on (the domain of) the temple of Amon. The parties appear to be of a considerable station and the document is attested by ten witnesses in witness-copies. Griffith gives an abstract of it in *Ryl.*, 17, no. 6. In year 45 of the same king the same *nmḥ* land is sold by the son of the former vendee to another party in the same elaborate fashion (Griffith, *op. cit.*, 18, no. 9). The land is treated purely as private property, though nominally on temple domain.

A similar case occurs in the reign of Ahmes in a sale of *nmḥ* land, probably on the domain of Amon of Thebes, the descent of which is traced from father to son through four generations (B.M.Eg. 10117, ed. Reich, *Pap. jurist. Inhalts.* 9 ff.)

From the holding of independent land, i.e. that not belonging to the King or to Temples, seems to come the sense of free land, or land owned by a freeman, *rm nmḥ* who is free irrespective of land.

Already in Dyn XXVI we have the series of slave sales (b) above, in which the slave says *bn e(-y) rh 'r nmḥ e·r-n-k n* 'I shall not be able to be free unto thee any more'. Griffith had not then (1909) grasped the meaning of *nmḥ*.

In 1917 Spiegelberg published a note in *ZAS* 53, 116 in which he made a suggestion that possibly *nmḥ* = **ⲡⲏⲟⲩ**, as it was opposed to the unfree *bk*. The *sh-t nmḥw* he explained as 'Ländereien, die zwar Eigentum der Krone (Staatsland), aber dabei doch in Privatbesitz waren' i.e. ἰδιόκτητος γῆ. In 1921 he gave *nmḥ?* as an equivalent of **ⲡⲏⲟⲩ** in his *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 102.

In 1922 Lacau in the *Recueil Champollion*, 721, showed that the conversion of *n* into *r* is normal at the beginning of an *unaccented* syllable with examples. In 1923 Spiegelberg in his memoir on 'Ägyptische Verpfändungsverträge' (*Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Ak. d. Wiss.* 1923) discussed a group of four documents which like those in (c) above contain a comprehensive list of a man's property. They are in form sales of his property to a woman in return for her taking care of the vendor during his life and for his burial after death. The documents are as follows:

Year 3 Alex. III, 330 B.C. Louvre L2439 in *Corpus Pap. Louvre*, pl. v, no. 4; Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* 290.

Year 13 Soter I, 292-1 B.C. Louvre L2429b, ed. Revillout, *op. cit.* 229.

Year 21 Soter I, 285-4 B.C., ed. Griffith, *Ryl.* XI, 122, 257.

Year 13 Euergetes I, 235-4 B.C. P. Marseille, ed. Revillout, *Revue égyptol.* 1, 135 with photographic collation by Spiegelberg.

<sup>1</sup> As to *nmḥ-nṣ* which Griffith rendered by 'clear of tenants' rights? Spiegelberg has a note on it in his *Die demotischen Pap.* Loeb, p. 104, n. 6 according to Dr. A. H. Gardiner in *JEA* 19, 21, n. 4; but I have no access to Spiegelberg's publication.



One might perhaps call them Annuity Settlements.

In these and similar lists in documents at Cairo *viz.* Spieg. *P.Cairo* 30601 (17 Euerg. I), *ibid.* 30607 (42 Euerg. II), *ibid.* 30609 (47 Euerg. II), the enumerated property contains 'lands, houses, revenues, slaves male and female, cattle . . . title deeds, and legal documents and *md-t n rm nmh nb p t*'. The meaning of the final phrase is not very clear. Griffith (*Ryl.*, 122) suggested 'arrangements with tenants (?)', and Spiegelberg (*Verpfänd.*, 3) 'Pachtvertrag (?)'.

[In 1928 the equivalence of *nmh* and *page* was ignored in the *Berl.Wb.* s.v. *nmh*.]

In 1929 Sethe in *ZÄS* 64, 12 accepted Lacau's thesis as proved, and more recently also Dr. A. H. Gardiner has supported him in *JEA* 19 (1933), 21.

The Orthography of *nmh*.

The writing of the word *nmh* presents some peculiarities. At an early time—Ahmes and Darius—it is written as if the *h* had been dropped; in the dated series given by Griffith (*Ryl.* III, 362) it is only written out distinctly in the first example under Ahmes; in all the others the final *h* appears to be omitted. The group must be read *nmh* as there is no other possible reading, unless it were *ndm* 'sweet', a word which would make no sense in any of the extant texts. It does not follow that because it was not written the *h* was not pronounced. In our group of texts another peculiarity meets us in that the word is usually written with a single tall sign before it, which has the form of the hieroglyphic  $\overline{\text{h}}(t)$  (v. examples in *Ryl.*, u.s., 377).

In the whole group of Self-dedications the word *nmh* occurs about 34 times, in eight of which it is written without the prefix and in 26 with it. The word is used in two formulae, (a) in the asseveration 'I shall not be able to be free etc.', (b) in the description of the suppliant 'born free' as opposed to 'born in the precincts of the god'. All the writings without the prefix  $\overline{\text{h}}$  belong to the (a) group, but this may be accidental. In (a) the phrase is always in the form *'r rm nmh*, but this is not decisive as to whether *nmh* is to be regarded as an adjective or a substantive. It is a subst. *p; nmh* in the Dakhleh stela I. 13.

The word  $\overline{\text{h}}-t$  has many meanings in Ptolemaic times, especially the original 'body', which may give rise to the sense 'individual' (Siut Archive B.M. 10591, 6/10) or the derived sense 'way, method'. It is also a rare mode of forming an abstract substantive: see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* § 35. The original sense seems more suitable here, 'body-free' of a man in distinction from the *nmh* of land. The two forms occur at least once in the same document, e.g. in B.M.Eg. 10630b the suppliant is born  $\overline{\text{h}}-nmh$  but undertakes not to be *rm nmh*.

The form  $\overline{\text{h}}-nmh$  occurs elsewhere in two of the lists enumerating property mentioned above. In *P.Cairo* 30607 and 30609 the concluding phrase is written *md-t rm h-nmh nb p t*, of which then (1908) Spiegelberg could give neither transliteration nor translation.

### Excursus B. Malignant influences

The list of evils is a feature found in earlier times. There is one such in *P. Ebers* i. 13–16, and several in the magical papyri of the New Kingdom. Cf. *Hieratic Pap. in B.M.* series III (Chester Beatty), ed. A. H. Gardiner, Text p. 50, 67, 72, 113.

1. *'n-mt*. 'dead man'. This form appeared first in the *Pap. mag.* of London and Leiden 9/22. Griffith treated the prefix *'n* as a mere reduplication of the initial *m* of *mt* to form a substantive derived from the qualitative form of the verb. It is found again in II Kham. 5/36 (cf. n. ib.), 6/28 and in *P. Insinger* 23/14 cf. Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire démotique du Pap. magique de Londres et Leyde*, 91–2. He treats it as a qualitative form.

2. *'hy*, *'hy-t* 'spirit, ghost', male or female. Usually placed at the head of the list of evils. Quite exceptionally it is wanting in no. 10624, but this is probably due to accident. It is

normally determined with the divine sign, replaced, however, by the evil sign in two or three instances. It may be taken to be a human ghost, not a monster.

Cf. Wb. I, 16, of the blessed dead: but in NK. and later 'Gespenst, Dämon' = Boh. 15.

Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 1928, 11. 'Not even the *šhw* "Spirits", as the happier, tomb-dwelling dead were called, could be counted upon to refrain from interference with the living. If such interference was sometimes beneficent, at other times it was not, and in either case it partook of the uncanny quality of things unseen.'<sup>1</sup>

Pap. mag. of London and Leyden 28/12 invocation: *'yh nb nt hn 'mnt ybt*. 'Every spirit that is in the West (and) East.'

3. *šy* . . . (or *še* . . .). The determinative is lost, and as the word does not occur in any other list in this group, it is idle to guess. The first word that suggests itself is *šy* 'penalty' (**oce**), but though an Egyptian was frequently fined by the authorities, it lacks the supernatural quality which attaches to all the other evils.

4. *wry* 'monster(?)', assuming a derivation from *wr* 'great', one may compare the modern ar. 'afrit. Griffith, *Ryl.*, 342, says that *wry* is feminine of *wr*; this is not, however, necessarily so, cf. ἀπορῆρις and ὄσοπορῆρις, common names in the Ptolemaic period (Preisigke, *Namenb.*). The word, spelt always with *r* (never *l*) and final *y*, occurs in almost every list of evils and in most it takes the last place with *šr* in the order *šr wry*. There are over twenty examples of this, and this fact has suggested to me what seems a more appropriate explanation. *šr* (q.v. no. 13 below) is known elsewhere as 'demon' or 'devil', but it is as the name of one of the 'heavenly houses' in an astrological handbook (*P. Berlin*, ed. Spiegelberg, no. 8845, iii, 7) that we find it in company with *wly* as the name of another house (*ibid.* ii, 1, iv, 15). There were twelve houses (or compartments of the heavens), some with a beneficial influence and others malignant. Greek lists of these houses exist, e.g. in Sextus Empiricus (Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, 280) and these show us that the sixth house κακή τύχη = *wly* and the twelfth house κακὸς δαίμων = *šr* of the Berlin book. I think the combination of *wry* and *šr* in this group probably points to the malignant influence of these two houses.

5. *rm 'mnt* 'man of Amente', a frequent figure occurring twelve times in the group. It is usually determined with the evil sign, but this is replaced in three or four instances by the divine sign. [Twice it is written *rm e-f* [sic] *'mnt*.]

I have not met with the phrase anywhere else—A man of Amente can hardly fail to be a follower of Osiris *hnt 'mnti-w*; but how he is to be distinguished from the *'n-mt* (no. 1 *supra*), I do not see.

6. *rm e-f šdr*, 'sleeping man', one of the most frequent forms. A 'sleeping man' may be a somnambulist, or the spirit of a man asleep, which has left his body during sleep and may be mischievous.

Cf. Winifred S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, 1927, 225: 'It is a common belief in Egypt that the soul can leave the body during sleep—not to be awakened suddenly lest the soul should not have time to return to the body of the sleeper.'

7. *rm p ʿd*. I can offer no satisfactory interpretation. This 'evil' occurs only in this place in these documents, but it has to be something malignant and the two or three known words written *ʿd* in demotic suggest nothing of the sort. There is a word in Wb. I, 24 *šd* 'crocodile' which also is used of a raging man, 'der Wutende'; the determinative here might possibly have been originally a crocodile; but the difficulty is that the *aleph* has no right to become an *ayin*; the only approach to it that I can recall is the *i* of *im* 'clay' (Wb. I, 78) becoming ʿm(y) Spieg. *Hdwb.*, 88 and P. Zeno dem. 3, 3·4.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to Prof. S. R. K. Glanville.

8. *rm p yr* 'man of the river' (Nile) probably a water spirit or demon. Cf. M. A. Murray, *ZÄS* 51, 127. In P. Insinger 24/11 is a saying as to the powers of small things: *p hm b yr wn-mte-f ssl* (det. of serpent): 'even the small stream has its demon (i.e. river-sprite)'.

It is a universal superstition and is mentioned in six papyri of this group.

9. *rm šn-ntr*(?) occurs elsewhere only once, in B.M. 10618*b*, in which it is written more distinctly the two last signs being unmistakably the *ntr* sign followed by the divine sign. If the first sign is read as *šn*, which is by no means certain, then *rm šn-ntr* might be a man who questions a god i.e. a 'diviner', or possibly it might be *šn* 'sickness' which in coalescing with *ntr* has shed its own determinative of evil, and *šn-ntr* be considered as the 'divine illness' = *ἱερὰ νόσος* 'epilepsy'. Cf. *Wb.* iv, 494 *šn*j (*ϣωνε*), but there is no reference there to *šn-ntr*.

10. *hmr* occurs six times in these papyri, and I can give no explanation of it; nor trace any example of the word elsewhere. The only clues are (i) the determinative here in B.M. 10622 appears to be that of a bird, (ii) in B.M. 10631 it is accompanied by a feminine form: *hmr hmr-t*. If (i) stood alone, it might conceivably be a form by metathesis of Copt. *ϣριμ* 'pelican'—a word of which the origin is unknown—but in that case there seems to be no reason for distinguishing male and female forms.

11. *hms* occurs only in this list. It is written in the usual form of the verb 'sit'. As a substantive, it may mean 'a sitting, assembly' from the verb, and also 'marriage' (Revillout, *Mélanges*, 186, n.). The verb is used of sitting on horseback *Wb.* iii, 90, and on p. 99 *hms* is used apparently as a group of sitters but no translation is given and the source has not yet been published. It may perhaps be suggested that in the present context it may be some kind of incubus.

12. *hsy* 'drowned man' lit. 'blessed' *ḡac̣ie* (Crum, *Dict*; *Wb.* iii, 156; F. Ll. Griffith, *ZÄS* 46, 132; H. Kees, *Griffith Studies*, 402).

It is very common in these lists, usually in an abbreviated form of *hs* as in Möller, *Hierat. Paläogr.* iii, 502. Cf. P. mag. gloss. no. 610. In the present instance it is written out in full. Once (B.M. 10619*a*) it is accompanied by a feminine form, *hsy-t*. It is determined by the divine sign almost invariably, in this respect like no. 2 *'hy*.

13. *sšr*, fay. *ssl*, one of the most frequent evils, occurring about 20 times, including both the papyri here dealt with. *Wb.* iv, 257–8 the verb *šhr* to overthrow (enemies &c.) gave rise in Sp. u. Gr. period to a substantive = 'fiend, demon'. Cf. P. mag. 6/7 *'yh sšre* and P. Insinger, see no. 8 *rm p yr* above. In *ZÄS* 48, 149 Spiegelberg published a Strassburg ostrakon containing a list of the 12 'heavenly houses' (see no. 4 *ury* above) in which *sšr* corresponds to *κακὸς δαίμων* in the Greek list and hence its inclusion here as a malignant influence. It is found in the same sense in P.Berl. 8345, iii, 7. It is remarkable that in demotic the original initial *š* of *šhr* has become *s*, the only exception known to me being the *šhr* of II Kh. 2/26, a book for *šhr 'hy* 'overthrowing demons' (Griffith).

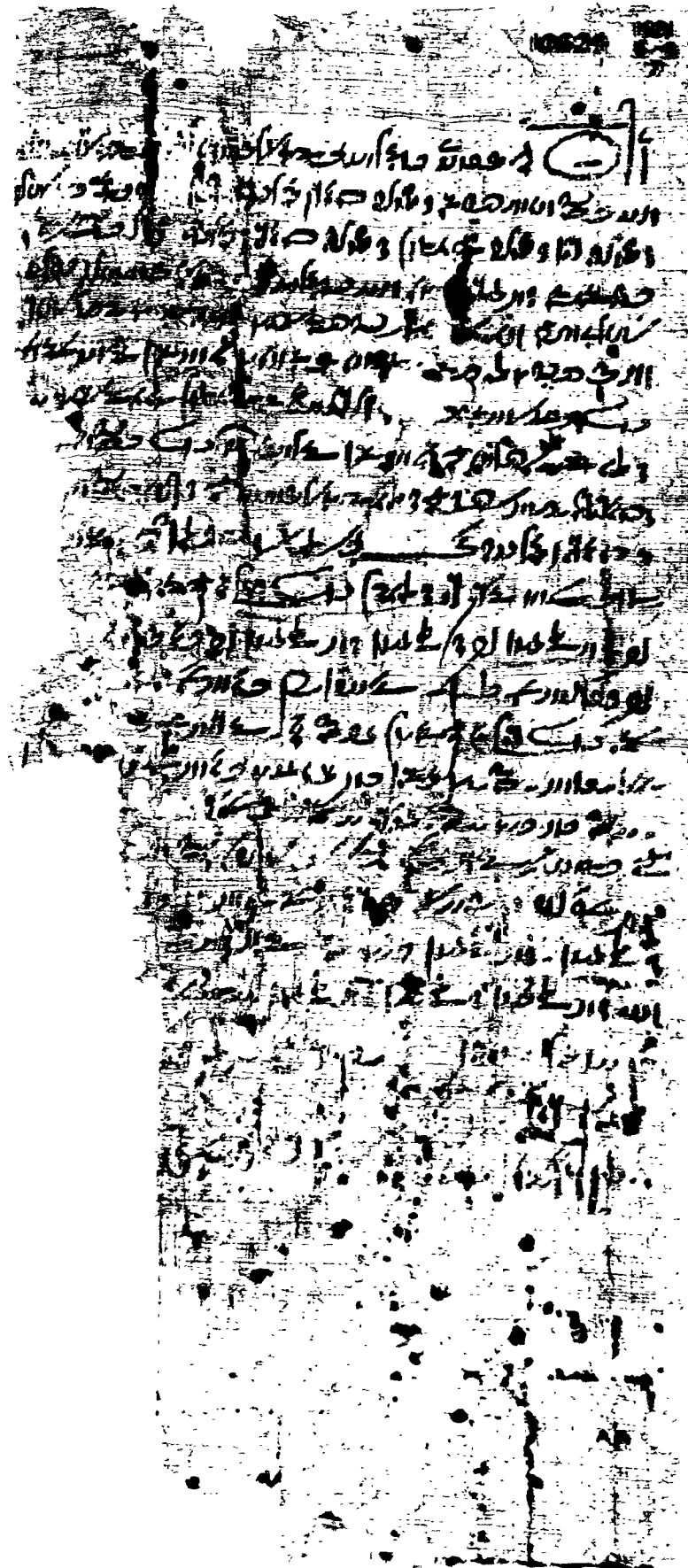
14. *tšw*(?)-*rut* occurs in seven papyri of the group. The first group is imperfect in the present one; but it is fully and distinctly written in three or four others; it may be read as *nf* instead of *tšw*. For *nf* see *Wb.* ii, 250; for *tšw* see *Wb.* v, 350 and 352 *tšw n mt* 'Todeshauch'. The whole forms a compound word meaning 'wind (or breath) from the outside'; for *rut* see *Wb.* ii, 404–5 *ru-t*, *ru-tj*.

Light seems to be thrown on the meaning by a passage in the *P. Edwin Smith*, ed. Breasted, iv, 16, on *nf-t n ntr n rute* = 'breath of an outside god' as a cause of disease. Here we have no reference to a god, but an outside breath (or wind) may well represent the notion of a pestilence blowing over the country as a bringer of disease.

15. *dršy*: the only certain example is this one B.M. 10622. All red things were ill-omened in Egypt, as being associated with Set, and it is unnecessary to quote evidence.

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Arabic script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The handwriting is cursive and fills most of the page area.]*







## SOME NOTES ON THE *NH*-BIRD

BY NINA M. DAVIES

A VERSION of this article was already written for the *Journal* when the contribution by Dr. Keimer on the same subject appeared in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 253 ff., 689 f. (a supplement). Two years ago a visit to the Zoological Gardens at Gīzah convinced me that the *Dik Sudāni* or Sennār Guinea-fowl was the model for the *nh*-hieroglyph, and this year I was able to study again not only the two varieties in the Gardens, but a stuffed specimen kindly shown me by Ibrahim Khadry Bey. I also collected from the Pyramid of Wenis and other sources numerous examples, including that already published by M. Chevrier<sup>1</sup> which he kindly allowed me to trace from the monument. My conclusions do not of course differ in any important respect from those of Dr. Keimer, but the more extensive material assembled here amplifies his article and may be of some additional interest.

The Tufted Sennār Guinea-fowl (labelled in the Cairo Zoological Gardens as *Numida M. Meleagris*), is the blue-wattled variety. The red-wattled Guinea-fowl, also to be seen there, does not bear the tuft of stiff hairs or filaments above the nostrils at the commencement of the beak, in addition to the horny crest. It is these two features which are represented by the twin protuberances in the hieroglyph. The feathering—a blackish ground<sup>2</sup> with white spots—is almost exactly similar to the hieroglyph from tomb No. 99 (Fig. 7), and the heavy body and square tail are also characteristics reproduced in the *nh*-bird. The wattles,<sup>3</sup> or thin membranes, on either side of the head appear broad or narrow as they are extended or folded by the movements of the bird. They do not hang down much below the neck and begin under the eyes. I am told by Ibrahim Khadry Bey that the young Guinea-fowl has an embryo breast-tuft which disappears when it is full-grown. The legs are not feathered as in a bird of prey, but the feathers come down as far as the thigh-joint in certain attitudes. The habitat of these birds is Equatorial and North-east Africa, and at the present day flocks of them are common in parts of the Sudan.

While making a collection of Eighteenth-Dynasty hieroglyphs I found several examples of the *nh*-bird which showed traces of black or grey with white markings. The interior of tomb No. 99 afforded a specimen (Fig. 7), so well preserved as to give the clue to the true aspect of the painted sign, which had always been in question. There was no doubt here that the hieroglyph of the bird should be painted black with rows of white spots. Examples from tombs Nos. 76 and 85 (Figs. 10, 8, 9), hitherto difficult to explain owing to their dirty-grey appearance, and showing strong red sketch-lines, could now be understood. They had originally been similar to that in tomb No. 99, but the fugitive black pigment had almost vanished through exposure to light. The ten selected signs reproduced here demonstrate that considerable variety in the representations existed even in such early times as the Pyramid of Wenis (Fifth Dynasty) where the hieroglyph occurs frequently and where scarcely any two signs show precisely the same form. In the four illustrations drawn from tracings made on the spot, it will be observed that three (Figs. 2, 3, 4) have wattles; two (Figs. 2, 3) have also one distinct crest; Fig. 2 has no feathers on the legs; and Fig. 1 has

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 30 (1931), p. 92, Fig. 4 (repeated by Keimer, *op. cit.*, 254).

<sup>2</sup> The black is a few shades lighter than jet black.

<sup>3</sup> It is called a wattle here for convenience, but it is not a true wattle as borne by a cock.



neither crest nor wattle and might pass for a *tyw*-bird. These are all incised hieroglyphs, somewhat roughly executed, coloured blue but with no interior detail.<sup>1</sup>

From the Middle Kingdom, Fig. 5 (which also appears in Dr. Keimer's article),<sup>2</sup> is a beautifully cut example in low relief but with no colour; the spots, which are rounded, not pointed, are incised. It comes from the reconstructed chapel of Sesostri I at Karnak recently rebuilt from blocks found under the Pylon of Amenophis III. This bird resembles the Sennār Guinea-fowl very closely except for the thickness of the beak, the two protuberances of the same size placed close together, and the rather elongated wattle. Fig. 6 is a hieroglyph 37·5 cm. (15 in.) high, in low-relief, traced from an architrave of Hatshepsut found amongst the debris in the temple of Dēr el-Bahri and now re-erected in the Pwene colonnade. It still retains a good deal of greyish-black pigment but no trace of white spots. On the eye-ball there is a fragment of red, and a little blue at the corner of the eye. Except for the feathered legs it also resembles the real bird: the wattle is shown in the right position, and the single large excrescence on the head is of the correct shape.

In the illustrations (Figs. 8, 9, 10) from later Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs, which are all painted on plaster, the grey ground is emphasized in the reproduction so that the white spots may be more easily seen. The black lines are in the originals red sketch-lines, and the breast-tufts, here confused with the wattles, may not have been so prominent or so low down in the finished paintings. In Fig. 7, where the black and white is perfectly preserved, it is impossible to say whether or not there was a wattle, since the surface of the bird's breast is broken.

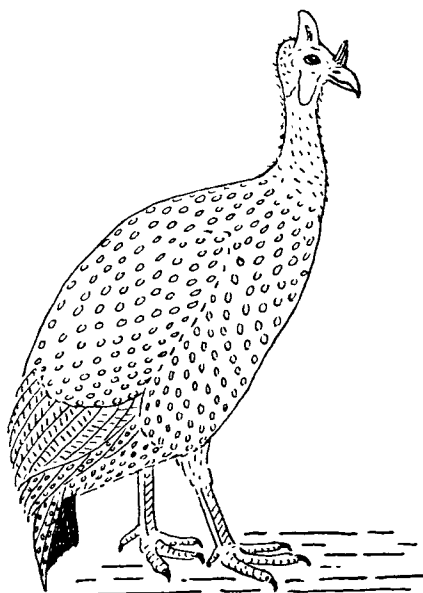


FIG. 11

The form of the *nh*-bird shows inconsistency not only in the Old Kingdom but also in later times. At Dēr al-Bahri it may be seen not only as in Fig. 6 but also with two crests and a breast-tuft. An example from Semnah shows it with neither. Such variation has a parallel in the *bx*-bird which, as Dr. Keimer points out,<sup>3</sup> by no means invariably bears its breast-tuft. The *tyw*-bird is drawn with this feature in the later period, and is thus shown in the *Theinhardt* fount.

The evidence set forth above seems to indicate that the Sennār Guinea-fowl, like most birds and animals now found in the Sudan, was known further north in the Pharaonic Period than now, and that it was the original of the *nh*-hieroglyph. But the evidence also shows that the ancient Egyptians were by no means familiar with the Guinea-fowl and confused the varieties. Hence arose the singular diversity of form. Mistakes arose over details, such as making the large horny crest and the tuft of stiff hairs on the head of equal size, or omitting one or both altogether. The wattle, showing beneath the neck when the bird lowers its head, is often conceived as a breast-tuft, especially in the later examples, and is consequently placed too low. The feathered legs, frequently added, may be a recollection of those of the raptorial *tyw* (𓆎) and *ꜥ* (𓆏) birds, which bear a general resemblance to the *nh*-bird.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Gunn for these references. He also points out that in the Middle-Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan the *nh*-bird sometimes resembles 𓆎 with or without the addition of a breast-tuft, e.g. *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 26, l. 176; pl. 8, ll. 2, 11. See also *Sup. Gard. Egn. Gr.*, p. 460, G 21.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 25, after Chevrier in *Ann. Serv.* 31, 92, Fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 30, Figs. 10, 12, 18.



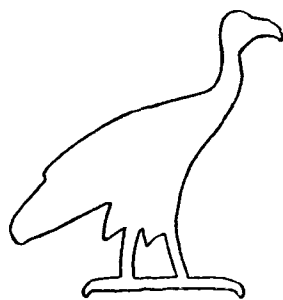


FIG. 1

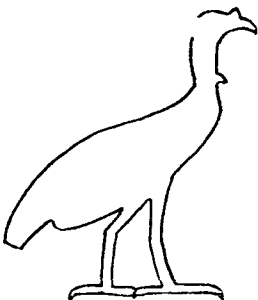


FIG. 2

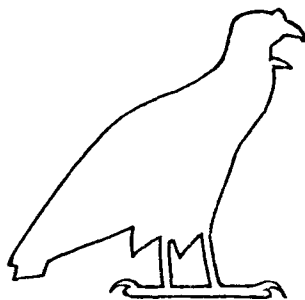


FIG. 3

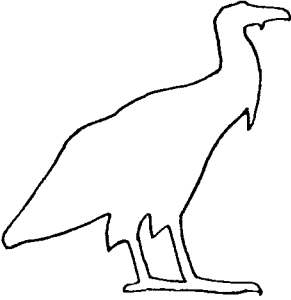


FIG. 4

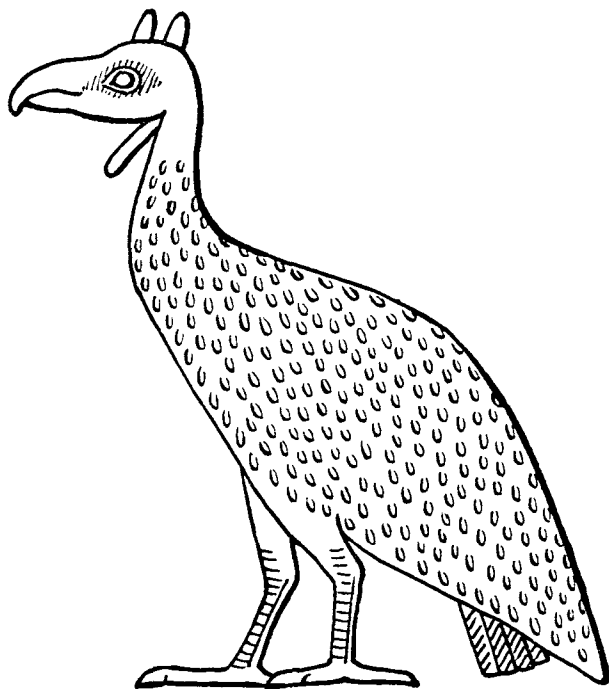


FIG. 5

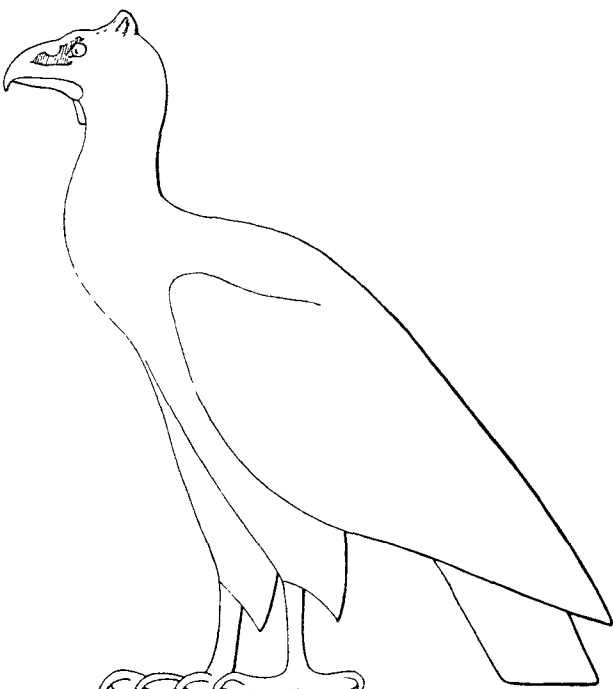


FIG. 6

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE  $N\bar{H}$ -BIRD





FIG. 7

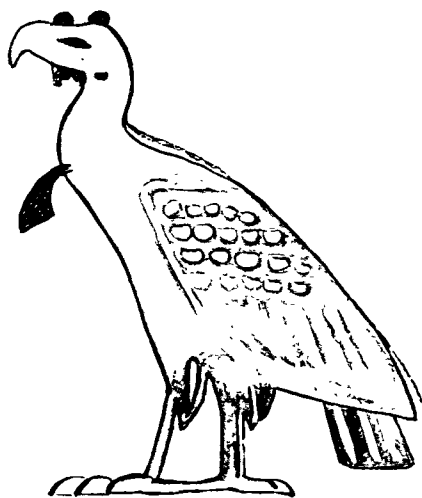


FIG. 8

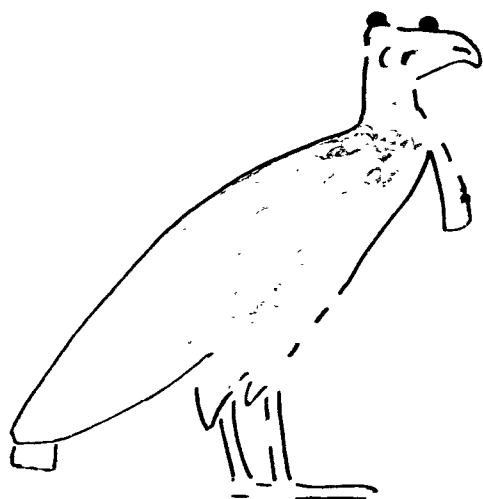



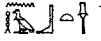
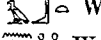
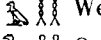
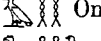
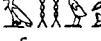


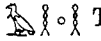

FIG. 9



FIG. 10

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE  $NH$ -BIRD

SOME NOTES ON THE *NH*-BIRD

- FIG. 1.  Sethe, *Pyramiden-Texte*, Pyr. of Wenis at Sakkareh, 362, 250 *c*, wall ix, second col. from right.
- FIG. 2.  Wenis, 298, 220 *b*, wall v, second col. from left.
- FIG. 3.  Wenis, 635, 512 *d*, wall xvii, sixth col. from right.
- FIG. 4.  Wenis, 298, wall v, seventh col. from left.
- FIG. 5.  On a pillar in the reconstructed chapel of Sesostris I at Karnak.
- FIG. 6.  On an architrave of the Pwene colonnade at Dēr el-Baḥri.
- FIG. 7.  Tomb no. 99 at Thebes. Inner room, second pillar from north, east face.
- FIG. 8.  Tomb no. 85. First room, second pillar from north, north face.
- FIG. 9.  Tomb no. 85. First room, first pillar from north, north face.
- FIG. 10.  Tomb no. 76. First pillar from north, east face.
- FIG. 11. The Sennār Tufted Guinea-fowl. Drawn from a stuffed specimen in the British Museum of Natural History at South Kensington.

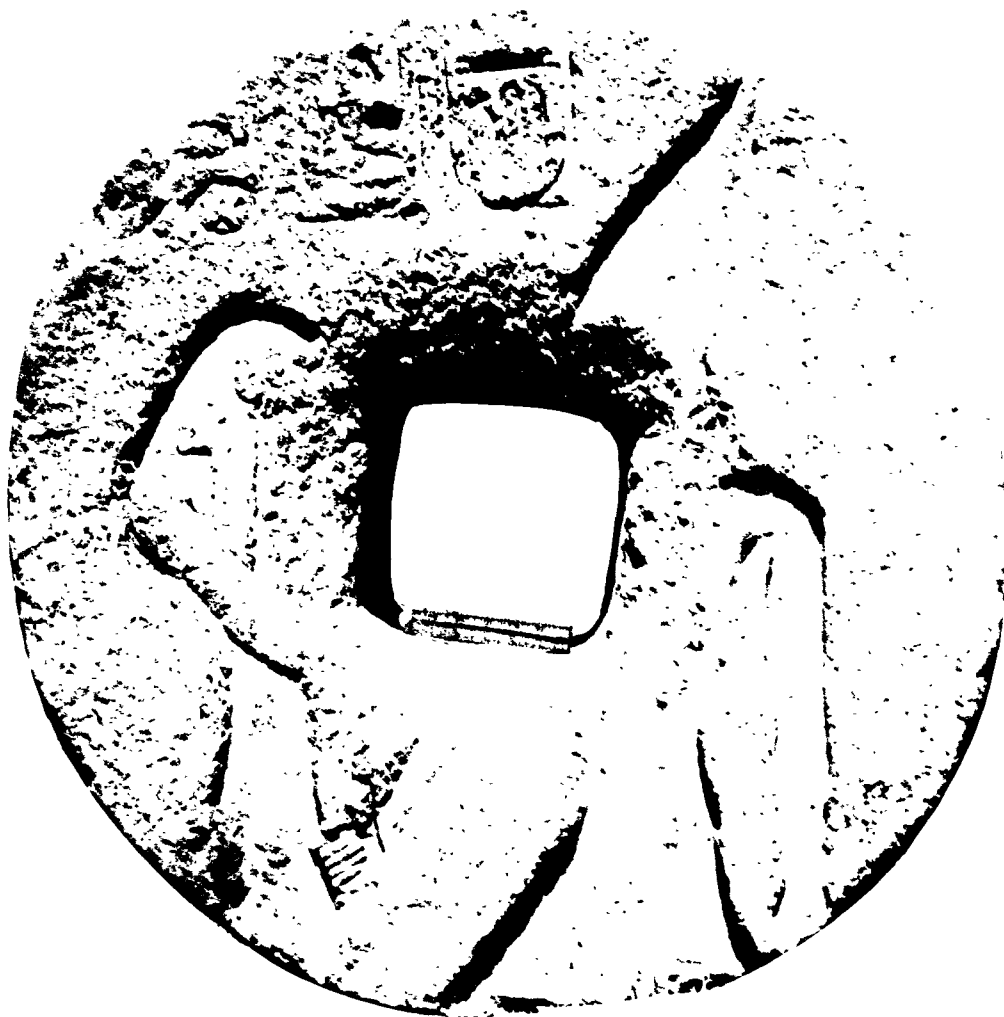
## AMENEMHAB ENCOUNTERING A HYENA

*From the tomb of Amenemhab at Thebes (no. 85)*

BY NINA M. DAVIES

ALTHOUGH this picture has already been published<sup>1</sup> justification for reproducing it again may be found in the fact that the present copy has been taken from a careful painting of the faded scene which perhaps adds a few details to an amusing incident in the career of the stalwart warrior Amenemhab. He relates in his autobiography a much more exciting encounter with an elephant<sup>2</sup> while in the company of his sovereign Tuthmosis III whom he followed in his Syrian campaigns, but is silent as to this hunting episode pictured in his tomb. We may notice, however, that some of the plants growing in the habitat of this hyena are very similar to those on the walls of the temple of Tuthmosis III at Karnak where the botanical specimens of Syria are recorded,<sup>3</sup> and this may afford a clue as to where the hunt took place. The oval white seed (?) vessels with ribbon-like pale green leaves at any rate find their counterpart there. For the other curious shapes, coloured blue with three rows of white spots, I can find no parallel. The three red stalks seem to be connected with the triple row of spots, so a complex of flowers or seed-vessels may be indicated. Strange forms of vegetation appear in the desert wadis after a fall of rain and a lingering impression of these is possibly the basis for the flora represented here. The three groups of lancet-shaped leaves (?), coloured blue like the above-mentioned rounded heads, and with similar red stems, might belong to many weeds. The female hyena, which Wreszinski suggests has just borne her young and in consequence is bolder than such a cowardly animal generally shows itself to be when face to face with man, has come surprisingly close to Amenemhab. He seems just about to knock her on the head with a stick while his long spear is held in reserve. Unfortunately the black and grey stripes of the animal, owing to the fugitiveness of the pigment, have now faded to mere stains leaving red sketch-lines which were originally hidden under grey and black paint. The body is at present a dirty buff—the colour of the plaster—with washes of white on the ears, muzzle, paws, and middle of the body against which the original black stripes show as buff spaces. The under part of the body is a deep pink. Traces of black hairs can be seen on the tail and on the angrily-erected mane behind the ears. The head has lost all its details but the vague outlines and blotches of white show the jaws were open.<sup>4</sup> Amenemhab wears a transparent shirt tied at his neck and reaching half-way down his legs. His short white skirt is either under or over this. Nearly all the black has disappeared from his wig. Traces of black hieroglyphs over the hyena's ears give the title (*hry*) *n pdt* (𓂏) while to the right the imperfect signs 𓂏 can be seen. Between Amenemhab's head and uplifted stick are also traces of indeterminate signs. The position of the scene over the doorway between the two central pillars of the tomb facing the entrance to the inner room is peculiar for such a subject, and gives the impression of having been an after-thought.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps a mixed recollection of hunts in Egypt where hyenas were commonly met with and other fights in Syria where the elephant (not so well-known in Egypt and hence more difficult for this tomb-artist to depict) afforded a larger quarry for his bow and spear.

<sup>1</sup> Virey, *Mém. Miss. Fr.* v, pl. III; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i, 21.<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Records*, ii, § 588.<sup>3</sup> Meyer, *Fremdvölker*, pl. 172.<sup>4</sup> For a perfectly preserved fragment of a painted hyena from the tomb of Antef (no. 155) see *Bull. of M.M.A.*, March, 1931, Section II, p. 55; cf. also Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. xxiv.<sup>5</sup> For the position of the picture in the tomb see Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, i, 116 (17) and plan on p. 110.



*a.*



*b.*

*a.* Inscribed Block at Aḫbara, Sudan.

*b.* Amenemḥab encountering a Hyena (Thebes, tomb no. 85).





## AN INSCRIBED BLOCK AT 'AṬBARA, SUDAN

By L. P. KIRWAN

My attention was first drawn to the sculptured and inscribed block illustrated on Pl. xvi, a, by Mr. J. H. Dunbar, Chief Mechanical Engineer of the Sudan Railways. When we examined it together in the autumn of 1934, the block lay—as it still lies—in the garden of Mr. G. R. Millward, an official of the Railways, who found it in a heap of debris while searching for stone for his rock garden. Mr. Millward, who thus rescued the block from further destruction, later made an excellent wet squeeze of the surface to supplement the very good photograph taken by Mr. Dunbar. This squeeze is now at the Griffith Archaeological Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The block, recut and used as a grindstone, measures 36 in. in diameter and is 18 in. thick, while the socket in the centre for the shaft or spindle measures 10 in. square. In the photograph a 6-in. rule is shown in this central hole. The stone itself, a mottled pink granite, is considered by Mr. G. W. Grabham to have been probably quarried at Aswān.

The block is inscribed and sculptured on one face only. The lower parts of the two figures and part of the inscription above—all in sunk relief—were destroyed when the block was recut into circular form. What is left of the scene seems to show the king, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, and an unidentified goddess who is probably holding 'life' to the king's nose.

The faces of both king and goddess, and their right and left shoulders and upper arms respectively, have been mostly destroyed by the cutting of the socket in the centre, or have been worn away through the play of the spindle-shaft against the stone. The cartouches above the figures, their tops cut off, are plainly those of Ramesses II. The hieroglyphs to the left of the first cartouches are obscure,<sup>1</sup> but the position of the ☉ sign, clearly visible, suggests a place-name following that of the goddess in question. Artistically, the piece is of no special interest, though the narrow waists and the position of the king's right hand, perhaps holding the right hand of the goddess, are peculiar.

How, then, did the block arrive at a place so far (some 600 miles) beyond the ancient southern frontier of Egypt as 'Aṭbara? For it is likely that it came originally from some small Ramesside temple in the region of the First Cataract, perhaps from one of the many ruined buildings once standing at the south end of the Island of Elephantine.

Mr. Dunbar suggests the following very plausible explanation of its presence at 'Aṭbara. Between 1900 and 1920 a great deal of railway work was done in the Sudan by a battalion of the Egyptian Army known as the Railway Battalion. These troops wanted heavy grindstones for grinding red bricks, out of which they made a special kind of mortar. Mr. Dunbar suggests that the stone was therefore brought by rail from Egypt, and was then dressed to its present shape, and a socket cut in the centre to take the spindle-shaft. Natives in 'Aṭbara, he says, remember the block being used as a grindstone until quite recently. The mill was driven by a bull or camel on the same principle as the Sudan oil-mill. This certainly seems a most reasonable explanation of the transportation of so unwieldy an object to such a distance.

<sup>1</sup> They are no clearer in the squeeze than in the photograph.

## A LATE DEMOTIC GARDENING AGREEMENT

## MEDINET HABU OSTRACON 4038

BY RICHARD A. PARKER

MEDINET Habu Ostrakon 4038 is one of the large number of ostraca uncovered by the Architectural Survey of the Oriental Institute, under the leadership of Uvo Hölscher, in its clearance of the temple of Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> It was found in 1929 in a hole made by ancient *sabbākhīn* in the northern part of the inner enclosure wall of the temple. This is in the square M/12 on the plates in the publication of the excavation.<sup>2</sup> As shown on Pl. 32 of this work, this comprised a part of the ancient town of Djēme, reference to which is made in line C, 16 on the ostrakon.

It consists of a jar, now broken with some fragments missing, approximately 70 cm. in height and 20 cm. in maximum diameter. Written on it, in panels drawn by the scribe, are four long columns of demotic, columns A, B, C, and D in Pls. xvii to xx, forming one document, and two small tables of accounts, columns E and F, which have no direct connexion with the larger document and are, therefore, not dealt with in this article. The writing is the same in all six columns. It is the work of a practised scribe, and is, in the main, well-formed and legible. Some haste and want of attention are apparent, as mistakes, corrected or unnoticed, are not infrequent. In places, weathering has reduced the legibility of the writing.

Before attempting to translate the ostrakon, I made a careful line-by-line hand-copy from the original. In many instances the photographs are deceptive or indistinct, and I hereby state for the reader's benefit that he may accept as substantiated by the original any of my readings which I offer without question-marks. I have tried to be very careful in this respect and to indicate in the commentary any doubtful readings. Wetting the fragments has often enabled me to make certain of some otherwise very faintly legible writing.

Palaeographically and grammatically the ostrakon shows close agreement with the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, dated to the third century A.D. If the interpretation of line C, 6 as a reference to Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, can be accepted, the *terminus post quem* for the ostrakon would be A.D. 271, a date according well with the palaeographical and grammatical data.

As far as the contents of the large document are concerned, the ostrakon is a reciprocal agreement in two sections, the division point occurring after line C, 20. It appears to be unique, and published demotic material offers little aid in its interpretation. Unknown words and words of uncertain meaning abound, and the present translation suffers greatly from this fact. It is hoped, however, that a sound basis for future work is provided herein.

<sup>1</sup> These ostraca are now on loan to the Oriental Institute, and I owe to the kindness of Professor William F. Edgerton the opportunity to study this interesting and perplexing document in my doctoral dissertation, of which this present article is a recast. My sincere thanks are due to him for his suggestions in translation and commentary, not all of which can be acknowledged in the footnotes. He has also made available to me the Manuscript Demotic Dictionary and files of the late Professor Spiegelberg, which have proved of immeasurable value. To Professor John A. Wilson, to Dr. Keith C. Seele, and to the members of the Oriental Institute staff who have assisted me variously, I tender my grateful appreciation. Especially to Dr. George R. Hughes I owe many valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, I: General Plans and Views* (OIP, XXI, Chicago, 1934).

My method of transliteration is, like that of other demotists, an arbitrary and personal one. I have rejected the use of the dot before the feminine *t* as unnecessary, since the strong *t* is so indicated. I have also omitted the dot before the plural *w*, and feminine plurals are transliterated as written: so *ḡntw* in A, 17. *ḡ.w.s.* after Pharaoh has been omitted in transliteration and translation.

The following symbols are used in the transliteration and the translation: ( ) indicate additions by the translator; [ ] indicate restoration; ʿ indicate a varying degree of uncertainty; and < > indicate emendation; and the following special abbreviations are used for works, etc., frequently cited in the Commentary: *Bürgs.* = Sethe and Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden z. äg. Bürgschaftsrechte*; *Crum* = Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*; *Dem. Gr.* = Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*; *Dodec.* = Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*; *Kopt. Hdwb.* = Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*; *Krügertexte* = Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*; *Mag.* = Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*; *Mythus* = Spiegelberg, *Der äg. Mythus vom Sonnenauge*; *Pap. Dem. Berl.* = Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus d. Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*; *P. Mag.* = the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden itself; *Ryl. Pap.* = Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*; *Spieg.* = Spiegelberg; *Theb. Ostr.* = Gardiner, Thompson and Milne, *Theban Ostraca (Univ. of Toronto Studies)*. \* is attached to references obtained from Spiegelberg's Manuscript Demotic Dictionary, and † to references to Spiegelberg's hand-copies of unpublished ostraca, all these papers being now in Professor Edgerton's possession.

### Transliteration and Translation

#### COLUMN A (Pl. xvii)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>ḡt pꜣ šḥn r-ṛ Tlkmꜣs</i>                        | (1) Contents of the agreement which Talames,   |
| (2) <i>tꜣ Iy-m-ḡtp ḡw-s dīt n pꜣy-s km r</i>           | (2) daughter of Imuthes, has made, she giving her garden, on                               |
| (3) <i>pꜣy-f šḥn n (Pꜣ)-4-Mntꜣ sꜣ Wdꜣ-f ḡw-f ḡpꜣr</i>  | (3) his agreement to Peftumont, son of Udjaf: 'If  |
| (4) <i>ḡw-ṛ-k ḡn-nꜣ r ṛ n-y km</i>                     | (4) you intend to be gardener for me   |
| (5) <i>n pꜣy-y km mtw-k dīt mw r-r-f mtw-k dīt ʿ28</i> | (5) in my garden, then you are to give water to it. You are to give ʿ28                    |
| (6) <i>n stḥ n mw r-r-f n pꜣ dnf n 28 n</i>            | (6) drawings of water to it, in the proper measure of 28                                   |
| (7) <i>hn n mw r pꜣ ʿššw mtw-k dīt 20 n stḥ</i>        | (7) hins of water to the ʿpot, and you are to give 20 drawings                             |
| (8) <i>r ḡt n mw n ʿrꜣ 20 r pḥw ḡw-ṛ-k swt</i>         | (8) ʿat the beginning of (the) water of ʿinundation and 20 ʿafterward. You are to ʿconnect |
| (9) <i>pꜣ nb r pꜣy-y km ʿr pꜣ stḥ nty ḡw-ṛ-k</i>       | (9) the ʿdyke to my garden ʿagainst the drawing which you                                  |
| (10) <i>r ḡl-f mtw-k dīt-f m-sꜣ nꜣ kmw</i>             | (10) shall cast; and you are to put it behind the gardens;                                 |
| (11) <i>mtw-k tm dīt ḡpꜣr-y m-sꜣ-k n-ḡm-f mtw-y</i>    | (11) and you are not to cause me to compel you to do it. I am                              |

- (12) *šnt-k r t̄y-k ipt rhwt mtw-k dity-s* (12) to ask you for your work at evening,  
and you are to give it
- (13) *n-y iw-s wḏ; ʿnh-ḥi mtw-k šš htp* (13) to me, when it is complete and whole.  
And you are to twist and splice
- (14) *200 n nwh ʿn-im<sup>1</sup> t̄-sft mtw-k* (14) 200 (ʿcubits<sup>1</sup>) of plait . . . . .; and  
you are to
- (15) *tp 4 n byr n ḏhm* (15) stitch 4 ʿearth<sup>1</sup>-baskets;
- (16) *mtw-k dīt n-w nwh n r; mtw-k dīt n-w* (16) and you are to give them ʿrim-cords<sup>1</sup>;  
and you are to give them
- (17) *nzy-w ʿntw mtw-k ʾr-w n t̄y-k* (17) their ʿhandles<sup>1</sup>. And you are to make  
them as your
- (18) *ip[t] r[h]w mtw-k dity-st n-y iw-w* (18) work at evening, and you are to give  
them to me, when they are
- (19) *wḏ; t̄ šṭ-s nty r hpr r pzy-y* (19) complete, (ʿfor<sup>1</sup>) the cutting which is to  
be (made) to my
- (20) *kmw mtw-k šm r t̄ mzyt n p;* (20) garden. And you are to go to “The  
Island of the
- (21) *Itm mtw-k ʾn šttw* (21) Atūm”, and you are to bring ʿfibres<sup>1</sup>
- (22) *n bytt r-rf t̄ mzyt n p;* (22) of ʿpalm-leaf<sup>1</sup> to it, (namely from) “The  
Island of the
- (23) *n p; Itm r pzy-y km hr* (23) Atūm” to my garden.’
- (24) *ʾir-s . . . . . 2t<sup>1</sup> ḏd n-k ḏdṭ-s* (24) . . . . .
- (25) *ḏd bn-p-ʿt<sup>1</sup> dīt-f iw ʾrt ššf* (25) ‘You have not ʿcaused<sup>1</sup> it, my eyes  
being . . . . .
- (26) *n ḏd [wnm] n ʿbk* (26) for sparrows and [food] for crows.
- (27) *mtw-k dīt ʿgm.<sup>1</sup>y st iw-w ʾhy* (27) And you are to cause that I ʿfind<sup>1</sup> them  
ʿhanging<sup>1</sup>
- (28) *r-hr-y mtw-y šnt-k r t̄y-k* (28) ʿabove<sup>1</sup> me. And I am to ask you for  
your
- (29) *hys n 3 sp n mnt* (29) dung three times daily;
- (30) *mtw-y blbl-f n wʿ ʿht<sup>1</sup>* (30) and I am to probe it with a ʿstalk<sup>1</sup>
- (31) *n zyw p; kš n ʿm[y]t<sup>1</sup>* (31) of ʿflax<sup>1</sup>. The ʿnew reed<sup>1</sup>
- (32) *nty iw-y r gm-f hn-f mtw-y ʿt̄<sup>1</sup> [ʿn-f<sup>1</sup>]* (32) which I shall find in it, I am to ʿtake<sup>1</sup>  
[ʿfor it]
- (33) *n kdt It r p; kš n ʿmzyt<sup>1</sup>* (33) one obol to the ʿnew reed<sup>1</sup>
- (34) *n-im-w ḏd-f n-t-s t̄y-y mwt* (34) among them.’ He said to her: ‘My  
mother,
- (35) *r-ir wʿ hbr mtw-y dīt n-y* (35) if a friend of mine gives me
- (36) *wʿ smh mtw-y wnm-f* (36) a bunch (of grapes), I am to eat it.’
- (37) *[ḏd-s n-f<sup>1</sup>] . . . . . wnm hn* (37) [ʿShe said to him<sup>1</sup>] ‘. . . . . eat in
- (38) *[pzy-y<sup>1</sup>] ʿkm<sup>1</sup> . . . . .* (38) [ʿmy<sup>1</sup>] ʿgarden<sup>1</sup> . . . . .

## COLUMN B (Pl. xviii)

- (1) . . . ʿn wʿ<sup>1</sup> šṭ pzy-y km n grh (1) . . . . ʿwithout<sup>1</sup> cutting my garden at  
night
- (2) *mtw-k ḏd ḏd wʿ hbr mtw-y* (2) and saying: “A friend of mine
- (3) *[p;] ʾir dīt n-y wʿ smh iw-f hpr iw mtw-k* (3) is [the one] who gave to me a bunch of  
grapes.” If you

- (4) [w] rmt iw-f ɛn w rmt iw ɛn-f w rmt (4) are [a] satisfactory and a good man, a man
- (5) [iw-f] ir n pɣy-y km n hb iw-y dît (5) [who] cultivates my garden by labour, I will cause
- (6) ʿir-rh-k s r pɣy-k bk ʿhɜt (6) that you know it at your ʿfirstʼ wages
- (7) r tɣy-k ʿw rmt ɛt wn-tw-y iw-f hpr (7) ʿatʼ your . . . . ʿgreat ladyʼ . . . . If
- (8) ʿiw-ir-k ʿwɜh-f n sw iw-y dît-y-s (8) ʿyouʼ wish it in wheat, I will give it
- (9) n-k wn-tw-y r tɣy-k rmt ɛt iw-f (9) to you . . . . ʿatʼ your ʿgreat ladyʼ.
- (10) hpr iw sw pɜ nty iw-ir-k wɜh-f (10) If wheat is what you want,
- (11) iw-s ir hm pɜ tɜ sw mtw-k iw-y dît (11) she ʿguidingʼ you to take wheat, I will cause
- (12) hl-k pɣy-k syr r bl n 3 (12) that you . . . . your . . . . three
- (13) sp hr ɜbd iw bn-p-s mtry (13) times monthly, it not having been agreed to
- (14) n drt r dît n-k sw iw-y dît n-k (14) by me to give to you wheat; (or) I will give you
- (15) n-k st r dɜdɜ-k n gɜɜ (15) it ʿat your responsibilityʼ in *gaga*-bread
- (16) ʿn pɜ wɜyp iw bw-ir-dît-s mtyt (16) ʿofʼ the . . . . , before it has been agreed to
- (17) n drt r dît n-k sw iw-f hpr (17) by me to give to you wheat. If, (however),
- (18) [m]tw-s smn n drt r dît n-k (18) it be agreed to by me to give to you
- (19) sw tw-y n dît-y-st (19) wheat, I will give it
- (20) n wɜ n wɜtɜ n tɜ mɜt (20) without ʿsubstitutionʼ, by the *mation*
- (21) n pɜ gɜmɜ ʿ[ʿr tɜ d]rt (21) of the ʿhandfulʼ [ʿat the threshing-floorʼ]
- (22) n pɜ shr . . . t n pɜ kr (22) of the . . . . . ʿofʼ the
- (23) kr ɜ ʿn pɜ ʿ . . . . . (23) great . . . . ʿof theʼ . . . . . ,
- (24) iw-ir-iw w rtb ʿ[ʿr 1]4 mɜt (24) one artaba [ʿbeing 1ʼ]4 *mations*.ʼ
- (25) dɜ iw-ir-k sh ʿm ʿw mtw-k w- (25) ʿYou are to ʿpoundʼ it and you are to
- (26) sm-w iw-ir-k ʿ[ʿr] ʿs ʿr-w (26) ʿgrindʼ it. You [ʿshallʼ] . . . . it
- (27) r dɜdɜ nɜ gɜɜ pɜ (27) on the ʿgaga-loavesʼ (of) the
- (28) wɜyp nty iw-ir-k r inɜw (28) . . . . , which you will bring
- (29) r dɜdɜ-k mtw-t tm (29) ʿat your responsibilityʼ, and you shall not
- (30) . . . t-k ʿbl-w r wnm n-im-w (30) . . . . yourself ʿexceptʼ them to eat them.
- (31) [iw-f] hpr iw-ir-k wɜh-f (31) If you wish it
- (32) [n nb] iw nb pɜ nty [iw-ir-k] wɜh-f (32) [in gold], gold being what [you] wish,
- (33) tw-y n dît ɜ-w tk (33) I will have you brought
- (34) r pɜ lgtwɛn n 3 sp (34) to the . . . . three times
- (35) hr ɜbd iw bn-p-s mty (35) monthly, it not having been agreed to
- (36) n drt r dît n-k nb iw-f (36) by me to give you gold. . . . .
- (37) . . . . . (37) . . . . .

## COLUMN C (Pl. xix)

- (1) . . . r iw-w mhɜt n-im-k (1) . . . . (If) you are arrested,
- (2) tw-y [nɜ] r bl n ʿ[ʿiw-w] dɜ n-w dɜ[t]s (2) I [will come] forth, ʿif [they] sayʼ:

- (3) *ḏd r-īm-t r-iry šp drt n-īm-f*  
 (4) *ḏd pzy-t km iw-f mtw-s smn*  
 (5) *n drt r dit n-k nb iw-y dity-[s]t*  
 (6) *n-k n nb tṣ Pr-ṣt ḏwt hl*  
 (7) *ṣt nb iw-ir-k r tṣ swnt-f*  
 (8) *n sh iw bw-ir-tw-w tṣ-[w] n drt-k*  
 (9) *r wsh-w hr nzy-k mdt-Pr-ṣw iw-ir-k*  
 (10) *tm wsh-w n <nb> iw-ir-k wsh-w*  
 (11) *n hmt wdḥ iw-y dity-s n-k r*  
 (12) *ty-k rmt ṣt wn-tw-y iw-f hpr iw hmt wdḥ*  
 (13) *pṣ nty iw-ir-k wsh-f iw-y dity-st*  
 (14) *n wš n kt nyry<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup> iw-f hṣḏ*  
 (15) *hmt n ryt gšt n*  
 (16) *ḏmt hḃls*  
 (17) *n Hm-nsu hmt*  
 (18) *iw-ir-k r tṣ swnt-f n sh*  
 (19) *hr pṣ shn iw bn-p-w tṣ-w n drt-k*  
 (20) *r wsh-w hr nzy-k mdtw Pr-ṣ*  
 (21) *ht pṣ shn r-ir Pṣ-4-Mnt sṣ Wḏ-f n*  
 (22) *Tlkmss tṣ Iy-m-htp ḏd iw-f hpr iw-ir-(t)*  
 (23) *nṣ ir nzy hr<sup>1</sup> nzy<sup>1</sup> iw bn-p-y ṣš*  
 (24) *m-s:t n nzy<sup>1</sup> nṣ nt hṣ-y<sup>1</sup> yṣm*  
 (25) *nt<sup>1</sup> sh kt Tlkmss*  
 (26) *tṣ Iy-m-htp iw-ir-t iy iw-ir-(t) iw*  
 (27) *r pzy-y km (iw)-ir-(t) <tṣ> wṣ bts*  
 (28) *r ḏṣḏ:t ḏd pṣ hy wṣ tbwy*  
 (29) *n hb r rdwyṣ-t ḏd nṣ gs[w]*  
 (30) *iw-ir-t mr-t r bl hr phṣ<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup> [n]*  
 (31) *wṣ rhṣw ḏd nt<sup>1</sup> wṣ wṣṣ*  
 (32) *. . . ṣ pzy-y hṣ iw-ir-[t] in wṣ*  
 (33) *nwy n drt-t*  
 (34) *ḏd tṣ hytt iw-ir-(t) in wṣt sṣt*
- (3) "Come. Be surety in regard to him,  
 (4) namely, thy gardener." If, (however),  
 it be agreed to  
 (5) by me to give to you gold-(pieces), I  
 will give them  
 (6) to you in gold of the 'infamous' Queen,  
 "Old Woman".  
 (7) Gold, you shall receive its value  
 (8) . . . . ., before they have taken  
 [them] from you  
 (9) to apply them for your taxes. (If) you  
 (10) do not want them in <gold>, (but) you  
 want them  
 (11) in refined bronze, I will give it to you  
 'at'  
 (12) your 'great lady' . . . . . If refined  
 bronze-(pieces) are  
 (13) what you want, I will give them  
 (14) without . . . . . ('in')  
 (15) bronze of (the) . . . . . quarter of  
 (16) Djēme, ('or') . . . . .  
 (17) of Khemnēs. Bronze,  
 (18) you shall receive its value . . . . .  
 (19) on the bank, they not having taken  
 them from you  
 (20) to apply them for your taxes.'  
 (21) Contents of the agreement which Peftu-  
 mont, son of Udjaf, has made to  
 (22) Talames, daughter of Imuthes: 'If you  
 (23) will do these things 'thus', I not having  
 had to make (any) claim  
 (24) against you regarding these things  
 'again, . . . . . I' . . . . . wine-press  
 (25) . . . . . Talames,  
 (26) daughter of Imuthes, . . . . . When  
 you are coming and when you are come  
 (27) to my garden, you are to <wear> a . . . . .  
 (28) on your head because of the sunshine,  
 and a pair of work-shoes  
 (29) on your feet because of the 'stones';  
 (30) you are to gird yourself 'away from  
 their strength' [with]  
 (31) a 'leather apron because of' . . . . .  
 a . . . . .  
 (32) . . . . . my 'singer'; you are to bring a  
 (33) spear in your hand  
 (34) because of the hyena; you are to bring  
 a sword

(35) *n drt-t d d p: wnš iw-ir-(t) in*(35) in your hand because of the wolf;  
you are to bring(36) [*w*] . . .gy d d n: tp-(n)-iwtw

(36) [a] . . . . . because of the small cattle.

## COLUMN D (Pl. xx)

(1) *n: k<sup>r</sup>r<sup>w</sup>r wšh iw-w ms*

(1) The 'frogs' have finished giving birth

(2) *hr n: tbtw n p:yt sbry*

(2) under the bricks of your . . . . .

(3) *wn w hstwl ms hr p: šdy*(3) An ichneumon has given birth under  
the . . . . .(4) *n n: s<sup>d</sup>r<sup>r</sup> n i<sup>h</sup>r n: isw*

(4) of the . . . . . of 'marsh'. The sheep

(5) *nty r wt n drt mr-ih tw-t n<sup>c</sup> gm<sup>t</sup>w*(5) which have been selected by the shep-  
herd, you 'will' find(6) *hr n:ys wtbw n: tp-(n)-iwtw*

(6) on &lt;their&gt; . . . . . The small cattle

(7) *nty ir bl n drt n: smw tw-t n<sup>c</sup>*(7) which escaped from the herders, you  
will(8) *gm<sup>t</sup>f hr t: yw n<sup>b</sup>st t: t:*

(8) find on their great . . . . . The

(9) *blbylt*

(9) grape

(10) *nty r iy r bl iw bn-p ir<sup>t</sup>s špy*(10) which has come forth, its eye not having  
been 'ashamed',(11) *iw-s n<sup>c</sup> d<sup>k</sup>ks r byr*

(11) she shall gather into (a) basket

(12) *iw-f šlm nty iw-s fy<sup>t</sup>s*

(12) which is . . . . . What she carries

(13) *n ht<sup>t</sup> iw-s g<sup>t</sup>p*

(13) 'by' . . . . ., it being 'disposed of';

(14) [*nty*] *iw-s t<sup>t</sup>f r y<sup>c</sup>m iw-f ph*(14) what she takes to (the) wine-press, it  
being 'bruised';(15) [*nty iw-s*] *d<sup>t</sup> iw-f r hrwt<sup>t</sup> iw-f*

(15) what she sends to (the) vat, it being

(16) . . . . . *nty iw-s p<sup>c</sup>nk<sup>t</sup>f*

(16) . . . . .; what she 'transfers'

(17) [*r*] . . . *hyh<sup>t</sup> nty iw-s t<sup>t</sup>f r*

(17) ['to'] . . . . .; what she takes to

(18) . . . . . *n t<sup>t</sup> tkm nty iw-s*(18) . . . . . 'since (the time of)' oil-crop;  
what she(19) [*t<sup>t</sup>f*] *n sm<sup>t</sup> hyrt*

(19) ['takes'] of clay and dung

(20) . . . . . *w<sup>w</sup> n h<sup>t</sup>s*

(20) . . . . . before her

(21) *n<sup>t</sup> . . . . . iw-s d<sup>t</sup> t:*

(21) . . . . .: she is to load them

(22) *r p: . . . r<sup>t</sup>pt mtw-t*

(22) 'on the' . . . . .; and you are to

(23) *srf b[r<sup>c</sup>]h n-im-w*

(23) . . . . . 'pack-animals' with them;

(24) *mtw-f in<sup>t</sup>-w r d[y] h<sup>c</sup>l*

(24) and he is to bring them 'for transport';

(25) *mtw-t dy h<sup>c</sup>l b<sup>c</sup>rh<sup>t</sup> r t:*(25) and you are to transport (the) 'pack-  
animals' to the(26) *nb<sup>c</sup>r skl [r<sup>m</sup>]*

(26) . . . . .; 'and'

(27) *tw-t d<sup>t</sup> t<sup>c</sup>-w r t: k<sup>t</sup> h<sup>c</sup>l*(27) you are to load them on the . . . . .  
'wagon';(28) *mtw-t srf h<sup>c</sup>l dw*

(28) and you are to appease robber, thief,

(29) . . . . . *št r-ir-w mtw-t gm<sup>t</sup>*(29) . . . . ., 'trader' with respect to them;  
and you are to . . . . .(30) [*gw*] *k<sup>c</sup>ns<sup>t</sup> r<sup>w</sup>w*

(30) ['losses'] . . . . ., . . . . .

(31) . . . . . *w mtw-w t<sup>t</sup>-w r-hr-y n hrhry*(31) . . . . .; and they are to be taken to me  
for 'destruction'.(32) [*n*] *gw<sup>t</sup> nty iw-s t<sup>t</sup>-w [r] d<sup>s</sup>d:*(32) [The] 'losses' which she ('will') receive  
on



- (33) . . . . *iwf šn mtw*·[*t*] . *lp n* (33) . . . . , being sick ; and [*you*] are to  
 . . . . .  
 (34) *h* . . . *n* [*ht*] *p* *lms* (34) . . . . [*in*] the [*lms*-wine]  
 (35) [*šy* . . . *p* *lms dhw* (35) of [*Sh*]. . . . and the . . . . [*lms*-wine]  
 (36) *n* [*Pr*] . . . *bn* [*wmh·w*] (36) of [*Per* . . . . ben] . . . . .  
 (37) *r-hr*·[*y*] . . . . . [*n*] *p*·*y*·*t* *šr* *z* [*nt*] (37) [*to*] [*me*] . . . . . [*for*] your eldest  
 son, . . . . .  
 (38) *hc*·[*y*] *y*·*m* [*nt*] *sh kṯ* (38) [*Γ*] . . . . wine-press] . . . . .  
 (39) [*Tkm*]·*s* *t*·*y*·*m*·*h*·*tp* *sh* (39) [*Talam*]·*s* *t*·*y*·*m*·*h*·*tp* *sh*  
 Written.

### Commentary

A, 1. *hṯ* is hardly to be translated 'My copy', as there does not appear to be any third person involved. On the writing with strong *t*, see *Dodec.*, 21. On the translation 'Contents', see *Bürgs.*, 369, 389–90.

*šn*: Not 'lease' but 'agreement, contract'. *caḡne*, Crum, 385.

*Tkm*·*s*: *ταλαμησ(ις)*. Cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 407.

A, 2. *ty-m-htp*: Written more fully in C, 22.

No examples are quoted in *Dem. Gr.*, § 251, of *n* introducing the direct object after *dit*.

*r*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.* § 281 (i).

A, 3. *p·y·f*: For such writings in Roman times, see *Dodec.*, Voc., No. 103.

(*P*)·4·*Mnt*: 'The Four Montus', a common name at Thebes and Hermonthis, some 10 km. south of Thebes. The four Montus are those of Hermonthis, Medamūd, Eṯ-Ṭūd, and Thebes. They were united in a bull, perhaps Buchis.<sup>1</sup> The Greek form of the name is *φθουμωνθης*, *φθομωνθης*.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the *p* was no longer an element in the pronunciation, and hence was often left out in the writing. In C, 21, however, the name is written in full.

*iwf hpr*: In C, 21, in the second section of this agreement, *dd* is inserted after the names and before *iwf hpr*. It should be understood here, as direct speech now begins.

A, 4. *in-n*: On the writing see *Mag.*, No. 433, third form, where it is equated with *noy*: *noy*, with the meaning 'go, be about to, intend'. Spieg. fails to include this Coptic equivalent in *Dem. Gr.*, § 111, where he equates our form with *na*, *nny*: *nnoy*. In *Kopt. Hdwb.* he also fails to distinguish clearly all these words and their usages. What seems to be the correct outline is given by Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 348: *na*, 'to be going', is the qualitative of *we* 'to go'; and *nny*: *nnoy*, 'to be coming', is the qualitative of *ei*: *i* 'to come'. In this Crum apparently concurs, giving *na* as an intransitive verb, with a reference to Stern, and *nny*, in form the qualitative of *noy*, as the qualitative of *ei*. *noy* he gives as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'go, be going to, about to', when followed by *e-*, *a-*; while *nny*, with the same construction, has the meaning 'be coming, be on road to'.<sup>3</sup> In demotic, as is usual, no reliance can be placed on the various writings of *n*, as far as distinguishing between their Coptic equivalents is concerned. Either the demotic usage was less exact than the later Coptic, or we should be guided by the apparent meaning and not by the writing in our translations. See further on *n* in the note to B, 19.

*ir km*: On this idiomatic usage of *ir*, see *Ryl. Pap.*, 330.

*km*: The personal determinative confirms the translation 'gardener'.

A, 5. *n p·y·y km*: Translate alternatively 'of my garden'. The final determinative of *km* is probably there by analogy with A, 4.

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Fairman, *The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, in Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum* (London, 1934), II, 45–50.

<sup>2</sup> Preisigke, *Namenb.*, 460.

<sup>3</sup> Crum, 217–19.

*mtw-k*: On this use of the conjunctive to introduce the apodosis of conditional sentences, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 152.

*dit mw r-rf*: See *Bürgs.*, 169.

†28: See *Dem. Gr.*, § 85 for the numeral construction. The writing of 20 is more like 1000, but 1008 seems out of the question. See the next line. Miss W. S. Blackman<sup>1</sup> has described a modern Upper Egyptian custom of a prescribed number of irrigations, ten in number, in connexion with the cultivation of dura.

A, 6. *sth*: See *Mythus*, No. 27, where, written  $\text{ⲥⲟⲩ}$ , it is used of the Nile *r-ḫw-f sth n w mw* 'when he draws water for them (the fields)'. Cf. Crum, 498,  $\text{ⲥⲓⲱⲩⲧⲉ: ⲱⲩⲧⲉ}$ .

*dnf*: In P. Insinger this word has the meaning of 'proper measure, mean'; for example in 4, 15 *pṣ tw nty ḡw r pṣy-f dnf* 'the too strong wind', literally 'the wind which is greater than its proper measure'. Cf. also P. Cairo 30605, 8 *ḫw-ḫr dnf ḥd 5 r w ḥk* 'they making 5 silver-pieces equivalent to one (loaf of) bread'.

A, 7. *hn*: According to Sobhy, in *JEJ* 10, 283-4, the *hn*, as a liquid measure, varied from 0.4028 to 0.534 litres, and in demotic documents appears always as a measure of honey or wine. The Hebrew  $\text{הֵנָּה}$  had a capacity of a little more than 3 litres. Taking 0.46 litres as the average *hn*, 28 of them would equal 12.88 litres, a not unusual size. In the Monastery of Epiphanius, pots for a *sākiyeh* ranged in capacity from 5 to 25 litres.<sup>2</sup>

†*ššw*: It would appear that the scribe wrote  $\text{ⲥ}$  as a determinative and then corrected it to the *w*. This may be an odd writing of  $\text{ⲱⲱⲱⲱⲩ: ⲱⲱⲱⲱⲩ}$  'pot, jar', Crum, 609, or possibly of  $\text{ⲱⲱⲱ}$  'a vessel or liquid measure', Crum, 604. In *Mag.*, No. 869, *ššw* is written  $\text{ⲥⲓⲱⲩ}$ . Taking the lower of the first two signs in our word alone, it would be a better *š* than *m*.

A, 8. *r ḫt n*: This passage is difficult, but I believe that we are here concerned with the preposition *r* (*t*) *ḫt n*, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, §§ 305, 308, and not with the adverb *r ḫt* 'to the front, forwards', cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 405.

*ḡr*: This is probably in error for *ḡr*; cf. *Dodec.*, No. 42 for a like error. There it has the meaning 'transport', and it is frequent in the title *nf ḡr* or *nf ḥl*, written with the determinative of our word.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Mythus*, No. 113, with the meaning unknown. I prefer, however, to connect our word with  $\text{ⲁⲩⲱⲩ}$   $\text{ⲁ}$ , *Wb.*, I, 210 (1-3), used in Greek times 'of the ascent of the flood water on the fields', and to see here some reference to the inundation.

20: Probably *n sth* is to be understood as following.

*r phw*: We may be expected to supply *n mw n ḡr* after this, or perhaps we may read it as an adverb.

*ḫw-ḫr-k*: Is here probably 2nd Present, marking the introduction of a new paragraph, with the meaning 'you have to, you shall'; see *Dem. Gr.*, § 158.

*swt*: On this word see *Bürgs.*, 224-6. So far as I know, the writing with the present determinative is unique. Here, also, the verb must be active, and I know of only one other such occurrence, namely in P. Reinach 4, 18-19 *mtw-y swt nwy-k ḫw . . . . . r pṣy-k ḫy*.<sup>4</sup> *Ryl. Pap.*, 385 gives the meaning 'transport'. I feel rather that *swt* represents the actual act of delivery at a destination, as it is often followed by *r drt*, *r wcy*, etc. Here we may have the meaning 'connect, join'.

A, 9. *nb*: Thompson, *Theb. Ostr.*, 26, No. 3, has demonstrated the translation 'dyke-tax', but here 'dyke' seems required. The former may well be an extension of the latter.

†*r*: This must be *r*, badly written, with a fortuitous stroke, as *ḫw* does not suit. *pṣ* must

<sup>1</sup> *The Fellāḫin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927), 175.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York, 1926), I, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Dodec.*, No. 840 and Pls. 40, 61.

<sup>4</sup> T. Reinach, W. Spiegelberg, and S. de Ricci, *Papyrus Grecs et Démotiques* (Paris, 1905), Pl. 12.

be read before *sth* because of the following *nty*. 'Against', *i.e.*, as protection for the water cast on the garden, so that it will not run off.

A, 10. *dīf*: Note *dīty-s* in B, 8; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 255 on this interchange of pronouns, and also *Ryl. Pap.*, 231, No. 10.

*nī kmw*: This must refer to the other gardens in the vicinity, as it does not seem possible to translate 'gardeners' here.

A, 11. *m-s-k*: In the legal sense; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 354.

A, 12. *šnt-k*: 'For' seems to be the translation, rather than 'about, concerning', which in Coptic would be *ⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛⲥⲁ-*, *ⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ*. With *ⲉ-*, Crum, 569, gives the following examples in which the force of *ⲉ-*, 'for', seems to be that of introducing the second object: *ⲥⲓⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ*; *ⲁⲛⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ*. On this see also Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 510.

*īpt*: Means ordinarily 'craft, art, occupation', but here it must mean the product of the work.

*rhwt*: On the writing, cf. *Mag.*, No. 509, *ⲛⲁⲓⲧ*. The scribe wrote the *ⲛ* of *ⲛⲁⲓⲧ* last, with a nearly dry brush, and this was covered up by the later stroke of the *k*. I can see no connexion between the *ⲟ* and *ⲛ* to make it an *h* *ⲛ*. Note also in A, 18 the flatness of the *ⲟ*. We must there have the same word, though without the final *t*, if it is a *t*, and not a blunder of the scribe; cf. the writing of *nyw* in A, 17. We have here the adverbial use of the noun, as in P. Mag., 18, 11, and Philae 24, 9. Cf. also Crum, 310.

A, 13. *wḏr*: In Coptic *ⲟⲩⲟⲩ* and *ⲟⲩⲩ* are at times synonymous.<sup>1</sup> Two old perfectives after one subject are not uncommon in Middle Egyptian but I know of no examples in demotic. Coptic would require *ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲩ*. Because of the following *nh-ḏi*, we might expect here *wḏr-ḏi*. Possibly the loss of the final *s* (\**w° ḏ° s* > *ⲟⲩⲟⲩ*)<sup>2</sup> made it no longer possible to form the 3rd f. sing.

*nh-ḏi*: Written *ⲛⲁⲓⲧ*. There ought to be *ⲁⲓ* written at the beginning as is usual after Persian times, but perhaps it was omitted here because of the form used. Note that the ending agrees in gender and number with the subject. This is hardly accidental, despite *Dem. Gr.*, § 98.

*šš htp*: A flake has fallen away in *šš*, but an earlier photograph makes the reading certain. I believe that we have here a compound verb describing the weaving of palm fibres into ropes out of which baskets are to be sewn. Miss Blackman<sup>3</sup> has described as follows the modern manufacture of the *maktaf*, the commonest basket:

The *maktaf* is made . . . of palm-leaves. These are torn off the main stem and split into the desired width, and are then woven into a very long plait. Extra leaves are constantly incorporated, till the necessary length is completed. Any very narrow strands left over as useless for this purpose are carefully put on one side, to be utilized in the following manner. When the plait is completed the basket-maker takes these strands and forms them into a cord by twisting them together between the palms of his hands. He then takes a large iron needle, which he threads with this cord, and proceeds to form the basket by sewing the plait into a spiral. The cord is inserted through the plait in such a way that it forms a thick spiral rib round the basket. . . . Two rope handles are attached to each basket, the rim of which is often strengthened with the same material.

Among other examples of such compound verbs in demotic may be mentioned *ḥc ḏḏ* in the formula *īw N. N. ḥc ḏḏ*, *Bürgs.*, 37; in *Corpus Louvre* 14, *ḥc mn* in *ty-k dnīt n pī nty ḥc mn*;<sup>4</sup> and in P. Insinger *šm īy ywee* and *šm sny*.<sup>5</sup> None of these is transitive, but note the Coptic

<sup>1</sup> Crum, 511, 525.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Aeg. Verbum* (Leipzig, 1899), II, § 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 157. On basket-making, cf. also G. A. Wainwright, *Ancient Survivals in Modern Africa* (Cairo, 1919), pp. 131 ff. and Pl. 6; and Wainwright, *Basketry, Cordage, etc. from the Fayum*, in *Ann. Serv.* 24, 109.

<sup>4</sup> E. Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, I (Paris, 1885), Pl. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Lexa, Nos. 489, 490. I owe two of these references to Hughes and Edgerton.

**ⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣ**, originally a verb plus noun, which is used transitively (Crum, 82). In *šš htp*, *šš* is certainly a verb, **ⲭⲱⲭⲱ**, but *htp* may be either a verb or noun, **ⲭⲱⲧⲡ** or **ⲭⲟⲧⲡ** 'to join', or 'joint, joining, chain' (Crum, 724-5). I believe that *htp* is the word usually written **ⲫⲓⲛⲓ**; but see *Dodec.*, No. 251, where the writing **ⲫⲓⲛ** occurs once. If this were considered an alphabetic writing, it would be easy to change it to **ⲫⲓⲛ**, especially with a different determinative, as here.

A, 14. 200: Some measure of length must be understood here, as '200 ropes' does not suit the context. If the cubit is meant, we should then have 104.6 m. of plait, the cubit being 523 mm., a length surely sufficient for four baskets.

*nwh*: Crum, 241, **ⲡⲟⲭⲭ** = *σχωνίον*, which is anything twisted or plaited of rushes, a rush-rope.

*ṛ-n-īm*: This reading is most uncertain. There is a possible addition to the top sign, making **ⲛⲓⲙ**, but I can't read that.

*ṭ-sft*: Written **ⲉⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ**. This group reminds me of the word **ⲉⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ** which occurs in the Bilingual of Abydos, apparently for the Greek *οἰκοδομή*,<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere. Lexa, *op. cit.*, No. 150, has studied this word and believes that it has two meanings: (1) 'mortgage', when determined with **ⲭ**; (2) 'restoration', when determined with **ⲛ**, with, at times, confused writings. Neither meaning seems to apply here. There may be some connexion with **ⲥⲏⲃⲉ**: **ⲥⲏⲃⲉ** 'reed', Crum, 320.

A, 15. *tp*: **ⲧⲱⲡ** 'stitch, stop, caulk', Crum, 422; and cf. *Mag.*, No. 394, *mḥ n tp* 'needle'. Edgerton has pointed out to me that the verb seems elsewhere always to refer to closing a hole, rather than to drawing together what has never before been joined. Here, however, the translation 'stitch' seems necessary.

**ⲭ**: So written in F, 7 and, in a proper name, in A, 3 and C, 21. On the construction 'X of a thing' with units, see *Dem. Gr.*, § 85, Anm. Note also A, 29.

*byr*: Crum, 41, **ⲃⲓⲣ**: **ⲃⲏⲗ** = *σπυρίς* 'a round plaited basket'. In place of **ⲭ**, either **ⲛ** or **ⲛ** was first written, probably the latter.

*ḏhm*: **ḏ** is written with the sign for **ḏḏ**. Probably to be connected with the verb **ⲭⲱⲭⲱ**: **ⲭⲱⲭⲱ** etc., 'to defile, pollute', Crum, 797-8. A verb of similar meaning occurs in P. Insinger, 21, 16, written **ⲃⲓⲣⲓⲛⲓ** *ḏhmy*,<sup>2</sup> but this has the wrong *h* for **ⲭⲱⲭⲱ**: **ⲭⲱⲭⲱ**, as Edgerton has pointed out to me. *byr n ḏhm* would be baskets for the transportation of earth.

A, 16. *nwh n r*: This must refer to a strengthening of the rim of the basket; cf. the note to *šš htp*, A, 13. Note, however, that **ⲣ** can mean 'strand, ply of cord' (Crum, 290).

A, 17. *ṣntw*: This may be an unusual writing of *ṣnt*, 'thumb'. The common Coptic word for handle is **ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲥⲉ**, 'ear', but 'thumb' could perhaps serve as well. *Mag.*, No. 78, writes **ⲛⲓⲛⲓ** 'nail'; but on the confusion of **ⲛ**, **ⲓ**, and **ⲓ** see *Dem. Gr.*, § 4.

*n*: Common before the second object after *ṛ*. Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 275.

A, 18. *ṛp[t]*: Here must mean 'occupation', rather than the product of work as in A, 12. *r[h]w*: Cf. A, 12 for restoration and note.

*dity-st*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 255, and the note to A, 10.

A, 19. *ṭ*: Some preposition seems to be omitted here. Read *n ṭ*?

*ṣṭ-s*: Crum, 593, **ⲭⲱⲁⲧⲥ**: **ⲭⲱⲁⲧⲥ** 'cutting, ditch, part cut off, portion'. Perhaps the baskets are for the removal of earth as the ditch is dug. On the writing, cf. *Mag.*, No. 691.

A, 20. *kmw*: With the plural sign in error.

*mryt*: This reading seems certain. Note the following development.



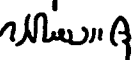


(1) Persian **ⲙⲣⲓⲧ** var. **ⲙⲣⲓⲧ**


P. Rylands ix, 16, 6; 18, 23

<sup>1</sup> H. Brugsch, in *ZÄS* 10, 28.

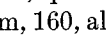
<sup>2</sup> Lexa, *op. cit.*, No. 616.


<sup>3</sup> *Ryl. Pap.*, 352.



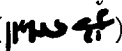

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| (2) 204 B.C.    | P. Cairo 30647, 8 <sup>1</sup>      |
| (3) 124 B.C.    | P. Heidelberg 723, 9 <sup>2</sup>   |
| (4) A.D. 43     | P. Rylands XLIV, B, 6 <sup>3</sup>  |
| (5) Roman       | Ostr. Strassburg D 243 <sup>†</sup> |
| (6) Late Roman  | M. Habu Ostr. 4038                  |

The writings with *n* are through confusion with *n mȳt*, 'new'. Note our writing of that word in A, 31 and A, 33. In P. Krall, *m-ir* is written .<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the vertical stroke may be there through the influence of such writings of *mȳt* as our document shows.

*n pȳ*: The scribe wrote the first stroke of *Itm*, then erased it because of lack of room and rewrote *n pȳ*.

A, 21. *Itm*: *pȳ Itm* occurs in the early Roman P. Berlin 8351, 5, 15.<sup>5</sup> On Ostr. Strassburg D 243, quoted above, is the place-name *tȳ mȳt n pr Itm*, in which *pr* doubtless equals *pȳ*. Crum, 160, also notes under : *Θμουνπαμοῦν* = *tȳ mȳt n pȳ Imn*. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, however, lists no such name.


*šttw*: Cf., perhaps, Crum, 594, , 'palm fibre'.

A, 22. *bytt*: Cf., perhaps, Crum, 45, , 'palm-leaf' = *θαλλία* for weaving  (*σειρα*), whence baskets made by hermits. This may be the same word which appears in P. Berlin 8351, 3, 1, *šsp-k mw m-sȳ nȳ nb bȳw* ().<sup>6</sup> Cf. also *Mythus*, No. 247. What was written before the correction of the *t*, I can't determine, possibly .

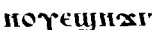
*r-rf*: Edgerton has suggested to me what I feel must be the correct interpretation of this line: we are to understand an unwritten *n* after *r-rf*, with the following phrase enlarging on the previous sentence. Note also that *n* was omitted in A, 19.

A, 23. *n pȳ*: Dittography.

*hr*: The sentence introduced by this particle I am unable either to translate or emend satisfactorily. The construction ought to be either *hr sdm-f* or *hr ir-f sdm*, though just possibly we are concerned with the verb *hr* 'to say'. I am inclined to think that we have here some interpolation of the scribe, as in A, 34, and that in A, 25 Talames continues speaking. She is certainly the speaker in A, 27.

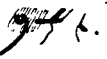

A, 24. *ir-s . . . . . 2t*: What is written is .

*dd n-k ddt-s dd*: Cf. *dd n-w ddt-s dd* of C, 2-3 and the suggestions which are there made on the translation.

*n-k ddt-s*: Edgerton has suggested that possibly we can here read *(n)wš (n) ddt-s*,  'without taking it'. Cf. D, 17.

A, 25. *dd*: Introduces direct speech after *dd* followed by pleonastic suffix. Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 428, a.

*bn-p-tl*: The reading *·t* seems best from the traces, but Edgerton has called my attention to another possibility in P. Insinger, 8, 5, *bn-p-s*.<sup>7</sup> An emendation to *bn-p-k*, however, seems required by the fact that Talames is speaking in A, 27.

*ditf*: What is written is . The reading seems certain, though there may be a connecting stroke on the top of the *f* making ; but what can this mean? If *dit* means

<sup>1</sup> *Bürgs.*, Pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ryl. Pap.*, 352.

<sup>4</sup> Jakob Krall, *Dem. Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1903), Pl. T, 2, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Lexa, *op. cit.*, 24.

'cause', *f* must anticipate the following sentence; if the meaning is 'give, place', what then can *f* refer to? See also the note to A, 10.

*irt*: The strong *t* must indicate the 1st person suffix. In D, 10 the initial sign is omitted. Here, as there, the meaning of 'eye' must be that of 'bud' or 'blossom' or something of the kind.

*ššf*: This word may have some connexion with  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  'to spread, burrow (?)', Crum, 612, or  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , 'to destroy', *Wb.*, III, 274 (1). I believe, however, that we have here a noun, as the parallelism of *ššf n ḏḏ* and *wnm n ḥk* seems evident. *n* can hardly be agential. On nominal sentences in demotic with substantive predicate and no copula, see Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, § 30 and *Dem. Gr.*, § 444. No examples are quoted after *in*, but I know of no reason why this is impossible, in view of such a Coptic example as  $\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\pi\tau\text{-}\sigma\gamma\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon$  in 'Will you drink of me, I being a woman of Samaria?'<sup>1</sup>

A, 26. [*wnm*]: This restoration fits exactly. Cf. A, 36.

A, 27. *gm·y*: The initial sign of *gm* is certain. The scribe has apparently written *y* over the original determinative of *gm*, cf. A, 32, as a later correction.

*st*: It is quite uncertain what this refers to.

*šhy*: Cf., perhaps,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$   $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  'hang, suspend'; with  $\epsilon\text{-}$ , 'hang upon, to';  $\epsilon\text{-}$  with the qualitative, 'above, etc.', Crum, 88. *Mag.*, No. 31, writes  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . In II Khamuas, 5, 8 occurs the writing  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . The change of  $\epsilon$  to  $\text{𐤥}$  is not uncommon in Roman times. Cf. also *Ryl. Pap.*, 337,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , 'be green (?)', Griffith perhaps having in mind the Egn. verb *wšhy* with that meaning.

A, 28. *r·hr·y*: Or 'upon me'?

*ty·k*: An error for *py·k*, but see the note to *hys* in the next line.

A, 29. *hys*:  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ :  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ :  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . *Mag.*, No. 608 writes *hs*; but *Mythus*, No. 559 writes *hs*, as a less usual word for  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . The *y* comes from *hyrt*,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , as in D, 19. The scribe probably started to write that word, cf. *ty·k* in the last line, and then changed it to  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ .

*n*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 271.

*3 sp*: This is one of the few cases where the numeral retains a *status constructus* and *n* is omitted. In Coptic, Stern (*op. cit.*, § 283) cites  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ - $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ ,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$   $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , *et al.*

*n mnt*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 408 (1). The writing here is a confusion between  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  'there is not', and  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , the usual writing of  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . The *t* is not usually written, but note *Dodec.*, No. 136.

A, 30. *blbl*: Cf. Crum, 37,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  'dig up, out'. Note also *Mag.*, No. 267, 'blister, burn'.

*ht*: This is the only restoration I know of that fits the traces. On the writing see *Mag.*, No. 629. Some instrument seems meant here; cf. *Mag.*, 10, 33; 25, 32; 27, 11  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  *n hr* 'a pleasure-wood' (kohl-stick?) with which in 27, 11 the eyes are to be painted.

A, 31. *nyw*: Possibly cf. Crum, 88,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  'linen'; though *Mag.*, No. 25 writes  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . Note, however, that elsewhere in our document this interchange occurs, e.g. *šhy* in A, 27.

*kš*: For the reading cf. A, 33. Crum, 130,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ . Cf. *Mythus*, No. 834.

*m[y]t*: The parallel A, 33 suggests this restoration, though there the *t* was apparently written afterwards, as a correction. The reading is uncertain, but we are probably concerned here with such a writing as in *Mag.*, No. 462,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , with the addition of the determinative  $\text{𐤥}$ , perhaps as a compounded name with *kš*. Note the writing of the *m* sign in  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , D, 19.

A, 32. *gm·f*:  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$  here, but cf. D, 5 *gmt·w*,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ , and D, 8 *gmt·f*,  $\text{𐤥𐤥𐤥𐤥}$ .

*mtw·y*: Not used independently. The preceding phrase does not interrupt the string of conjunctives.

*t*:  $\text{𐤥}$  is certain and reading *t* fits the space and allows room for a dative *n·f* resuming

<sup>1</sup> John iv. 9 cited in Steindorff, *Kopt. Gr.* (2nd edn., Berlin, 1930), § 437.



*iw-y dit*: In this document, in the writing of the 3rd Future, the *r* is always written with the 2nd singular masculine, and seems to be omitted elsewhere, with one exception.

*iw-y* – B, 5.8.11.14; C, 5.11.13.

*iw-y r* A, 32.

*iw-ir-k r* A, 9; B, 26.28; C, 7.18.

A doubtful case is *iw-s tɣ-w* in D, 32. Edgerton has suggested to me that possibly the *r* was usually written after a consonantal suffix and usually omitted after a vowel suffix, which seems to agree roughly with the examples in *Dem. Gr.*, §§ 159, 164–8.

B, 6. *ir-rh-k*: This reading fits the traces and seems certain. On *rh* and *ir-rh*, cf. Griffith, *Stories*, 106.

*r*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 280.

*h-t*: This reading seems correct. The brush marks are **h** and can hardly be read *h*. For a similar writing, cf. *Dodec.*, No. 229; and note *n hɣ-s* in D, 20.

B, 7. *r tɣ-k w-rmt ɣt wn-tw-y*: The meaning of this phrase is quite obscure to me. It occurs in two other places as follows:

B, 8–10: *iw-y dity-s* (wheat) *n-k wn-tw-y r tɣ-k rmt ɣt iw-f hpr iw sw* etc.

C, 11–12: *iw-y dity-s* (bronze) *n-k r tɣ-k rmt ɣt wn-tw-y iw-f hpr iw hmt* etc.

In both these cases the puzzling sign before *rmt* is omitted and I feel sure that here it must be an error. It is to be noted that in all three cases the phrase is followed by *iw-f hpr*, but the alteration of word order in B, 8–10 seems to eliminate any possibility of relating *wn-tw-y* to what follows in B, 7 and C, 12. If *wn-tw-y* = **ⲟⲩⲡⲏⲧⲁⲓ**, where is its virtual object? In *Krügetexte*, A, 12 occurs *inky rmt ɣ wn-mtw-y nɣ-y nk-w* ‘I am a great (rich) man, I have my possessions’. Could this phrase have become so standardized that *rmt ɣ wn-mtw-y* could later be written elliptically for the whole?

*r*: Indicating debt or responsibility? Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 281.

*rmt ɣt*: **ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲁⲟ**. The determinative substantiates translating as a person. Note P. Rylands ix, 12–13 *ty rmt ɣt*.

*wn-tw-y*: On the writing, cf. *Mag.*, No. 196 and II Khamuas, 5, 2.

B, 8. *iw-ir-k*: Badly rubbed and looks like a correction from an original **ⲥ** of *wɣ* to *iw-ir-k*, but this is not certain.

*wɣ-f*: *f* must refer to *ɣy-k bk*, ‘your wages’.

*sw*: This group also occurs in B, 10.11.14.17.19. In B, 20 it is to be given by the *mdst*, a measure of grain or fruit. As a grain, the only similarly written one is *sw*. In ostraca from Thebes, *sw* is written fully **ⲩⲏ**;<sup>1</sup> and abbreviated **ⲩ**.<sup>2</sup> These writings are all Ptolemaic or early Roman. Placing the usual determinative after the abbreviated form, we have the group **ⲩⲁ**, and a very similar one occurs in the 12th year of Commodus, A.D. 192, **ⲩⲁ**.<sup>3</sup> A Coptic text from Wadi Sarga, No. 161, is a contract between a monastery and a carpenter for a year. Part of his wages (**ⲃⲉⲕⲉ**) is 25 artabas of wheat.<sup>4</sup> B.M. Coptic MS. 1064 is a contract (**ⲥⲟⲙⲫⲱⲛⲟⲛ**) between Anthimus and John, a carpenter, for a year’s work and wages (**ⲃⲉⲕⲉ**), part of which is to be paid in wheat.<sup>5</sup>

*dity-s*: Cf. note to A, 10. *s* may here refer either to ‘wages’ or ‘wheat’. In this document, however, we should expect it to be written *st* if ‘wheat’ is referred to. See the note to B, 19.

B, 11. *iw-s*: On the reading, cf. D, 11. This must refer to the *rmt ɣt wn-tw-y* of Peftumont.

<sup>1</sup> *Theb. Ostr.*, Nos. D 88, D 179, D 51, D 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Nos. D 19, D 22, D 24, D 100, D 103, D 44, D 2, D 82, D 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 31.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga Coptic and Greek Texts* (Coptica, III [Haunia, 1922]), 132.

<sup>5</sup> Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), 441.





*bw-ir-dit-s*:  $\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{c}}$ .<sup>1</sup> This writing with *dīt* is known to me elsewhere only in P. Krall, and that is before a noun, *ka-sh*.<sup>2</sup> P. Krall also writes *ka-sh* with a pronoun.<sup>3</sup> Note *bw-ir-tic-w* in C, 8.

B, 18. [m]tw-s: On the conjunctive after *wf hpr*, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 505. The only examples there quoted are from P. Mag. According to Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 626, the conjunctive with **ewon** occurs only in Bohairic.

*dity-st*: Wheat is often regarded as plural; cf. *Theb. Ostr.*, D 111, *rt.*, 6, *p3 i-ir fy n3 sww* 'who took the wheat to Ophi', and *Theb. Ostr.*, D 179, 7, pp. 60, 63, *nzy sww* 'this wheat', *lit.* 'these wheats'.

*wṭs*: One of several meanings which might apply here is 'alteration, substitution'. This suggests a connexion with the verb *wṭ*, written **𐤨𐤕** in D, 5, and in P. Insinger **𐤨𐤕𐤕** *wṭṭ*<sup>4</sup> 'to send', with derived meanings 'to separate, choose'. Cf. also Crum, 495, **𐤨𐤕𐤕𐤓** 'it is different'. I can't, however, account for the flesh determinative. The *s* may also be the water determinative.

B, 21. *gd̄m̄*<sup>1</sup>: Probably restore the end of this word thus **𐌿𐌿𐌿**. Cf. *Mag.*, No. 339, for the writing of *m̄* 'to see', **𐌿𐌿**. As a 2nd geminating verb, *m̄* would have a qualitative in **h**, cf. *gnn*, **𐌸𐌹𐌹𐌹**, **𐌸𐌹𐌹**; *kbb*, **𐌺𐌺𐌺**, **𐌺𐌺**, etc. Cf., then, Crum, 842, **𐌸𐌶𐌹𐌹𐌹** 'fist, handful'. A *md̄st* was certainly much larger than one handful; but Edgerton has called my attention to the measure **𐌸𐌶**, which in Epiphanius, No. 305,<sup>5</sup> would seem to equal either 5 **𐌹𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌹** (so Crum), or at least 1½ **𐌹𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌹** (in case **𐌸𐌹𐌹 𐌹𐌹𐌹𐌹𐌹** gives the equivalent of the whole quantity, and not, as Crum thinks, of each **𐌸𐌶**).

[*d*]rt: As a possible restoration here, I think of the Coptic **ⲁⲩⲣⲉ** 'threshing-floor', at which taxes and debts were paid. In *Theb. Ostr.*, Coptic No. 3 (pp. 181 f.), a solidus of gold is to be paid by a debtor at the threshing-floor of the creditor. The only demotic writing I know of is *Mythus*, No. 981, **ⲛⲓⲧⲩⲥ** / **ⲛⲓⲧⲩⲥ**. A writing such as this, **ⲛⲓⲧⲩⲥ**, seems not improbable, however, as a restoration.

<sup>1</sup> On this form see W. F. Edgerton, *Demotic writings of*  $\overline{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , *ZÄS* 69, 123–5.

<sup>2</sup> Krall, *op. cit.*, Pl. T, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. H, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Lexa, *op. cit.*, No. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Winlock and Crum, *op. cit.*, 235.

... *t*: An adjective agreeing with *shr*? But then we should apparently have three indirect genitives following *drt*, which seems unlikely.

B, 23. *krkr*: 'Talent' (?). I don't think we have here a case of dittography, although that remains a possibility. I know, however, no example of *krkr* 'talent', written with *k* for *k*. There can hardly be any connexion with *Mag.*, No. 919, *ⲕⲣⲕⲣ* 'kr-*kr*' 'poison (?)'. In P. Rylands XXXI occurs *tw-y mh krkr* (*ⲡⲧⲕⲣ*) 200 *hn n3 prw* 'I am paying 200 talents of the corn'; in a footnote to *krkr*, *Ryl. Pap.*, 160, has 'Weight or value?' Note also *ⲕⲕⲕ*, P. Cairo 50053, 13, which may or may not mean 'talent'.<sup>1</sup>

*ϣ*: There is a possible *Ξ* as determinative, which would indicate a person or title, but it is very uncertain.

*ⲛ p*<sup>1</sup> seems certain.

... : I have no certain idea how the last signs of this line are to be read; possibly *ph-s* or *h3-s*. What is written after the break is *ⲁⲓⲃⲛⲓⲥ*.

B, 24. *iw-ir-iw*: *epe*, cf. n. to A, 35.

*rtb*: The usual writing is *ⲣ* or similar. I know of none exactly like ours, but in *Theb. Ostr.* D 135, 1, Pl. 5, p. 42 *rtb* seems to be written *ⲣ*.

[*r I*]<sup>4</sup>: The restoration of *r* and 10 fits the space nicely. The restoration of 10, rather than a higher numeral, seems required by what we know of the number of matrons to the artaba, cf. the n. to B, 20. Note that the usual *n* is here omitted after the numeral. This, however, is not idiomatic as in the case of 3 *sp*.

B, 25. *dd* seems here to be nothing more than a sort of punctuation mark.

*sh<sup>h</sup>m<sup>h</sup>w*: *w* refers to the wheat. For *sh<sup>h</sup>m*, cf. *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ* var. *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ* 'to pound, bruise, crush, stamp' used of grain, and in combination, 'to pound and to grind, to pound and to sift'. Other determinatives are: *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ*, *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ*, *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ*, *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ*, *Wb.*, iv, 215. The verb has not yet been noted in demotic, but a noun occurs in P. Hauswaldt 13, 2 (a) *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ*, (b) *ⲡⲧⲛⲓ* 'pestle',<sup>2</sup> cf. *ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ*.<sup>3</sup>

B, 26. *ws<sup>h</sup>m*: Cf. Crum, 503, *ⲱⲥⲱⲙ* 'to knead, bruise', which Spieg., *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 175, suggests is to be derived from *ⲱⲥⲱⲙ* *ws<sup>h</sup>m*, P. Ebers, 33, 20. The writing may be affected by *ⲣ.ⲓⲃⲛ*, *Ostr. Berlin 762*,\* probably the Coptic *ⲱⲥⲱⲙ* 'gruel of bread, or lentils', Crum, 257.

[*r*]: The restoration fits the space but is quite uncertain. *r* after *iw-ir-k* seems indicated by B, 28.

*s<sup>h</sup>kr*: For this word I can only suggest Crum, 353, *ⲕⲱⲣ* 'scatter, spread', with *ⲕⲱⲣ* 'spread, stretch upon'. *Mag.*, No. 710, however, writes *ⲕⲱⲣ*.

B, 27. *p*: is probably preceded by *n* in B, 16.

B, 28. *wsyp*: See also B, 16.

B, 29. *mtw-t*: Emend to *mtw-k*, as it continues *iw-ir-k r* of B, 26.

B, 30. ... *t*: I don't know what this verb is. There can be room for only one sign before *ⲓ*, if my restoration of A, 31 is correct. I think of *ⲓⲓ*, and the traces allow *ⲓ*, but what could 'send' mean here? We may have here a verb with determinative *ⲕ* and object *ⲓ* but I know of nothing to fit. Edgerton has suggested to me a possible unique writing of *kd<sup>t</sup>*, *ⲓⲓ*, with reference to Crum, 125, *ⲕⲱⲧⲉ* in the reflexive with negative idiom 'not repeat, not do again'; e.g., *ⲁⲓⲡⲣ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲛⲱⲃⲉ* = *μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε* 'Sin no more', John v. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg, *Die Dem. Denkmäler: Inschriften und Papyri (CCG)*, Pl. 15, p. 30. I owe this reference to Edgerton.

<sup>2</sup> Spieg., *Dem. Pap. Hausw.*, Pl. 20, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Crum, xxii (to p. 384).

$\bar{b}l\cdot w$  is the more probable reading, though  $ph\cdot w$  remains a possibility; but as meaning 'except' in negative sentences  $bl$  occurs in all the examples given by *Dem. Gr.*, § 323 at the end of the sentence, except once followed by  $n$ .

B, 31. [ $\bar{i}w\cdot f$ ]: The restoration is certain, cf. B, 7–8. Part of the tail of the  $\cdot f$  is visible.

$w\bar{h}\cdot f$ :  $\cdot f$  is not very clear, and there are traces that resemble  $\bar{i}\cdot w$ ; but  $\cdot f$  is used in the parallel B, 8.

B, 32. [ $nb$ ]: This restoration fits the traces well. On the writing, cf. C, 5–6.

$nb$ : From C, 5 it would appear that 'gold pieces' are meant here. We might then expect  $n\bar{s}$   $nty$   $\bar{i}w\cdot\bar{i}r\cdot k$   $w\bar{h}\cdot w$ .

[ $\bar{i}w\cdot\bar{i}r\cdot k$ ]: This restoration is certain.

B, 33.  $\bar{c}$ : Cf. Crum, 520,  $\omega\lambda$  'take', with following  $\epsilon$ - 'bring to'.

B, 34.  $lgtw\epsilon n$  seems to be a Greek word but I can't run it down.  $r$  suggests a place and the determinative seems to be the house determinative poorly written.  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'accounting office', demands an  $s$  which seems certainly absent; furthermore, if any word of this type were meant, one would expect  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$  'bank'.  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , which in the third century B.C. 'seems to be hardly distinguishable from' the royal bank,<sup>1</sup> does not occur later in the Greek papyri and would hardly have survived in Egyptian speech.<sup>2</sup> Note, however, P. Strassburg 81 in which this title occurs,  $\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } \mathfrak{f} \text{ } \mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{m} \text{ } \mathfrak{z} \text{ } \mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{d} \text{ } \mathfrak{s} \text{ } \mathfrak{z} \text{ } \mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{p} \text{ } \mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{k} \text{ } \mathfrak{t} \text{ } \mathfrak{n} \text{ } \mathfrak{n} \text{ } \mathfrak{i} \text{ } \mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{p} \text{ } \mathfrak{y} \text{ } \mathfrak{w}$ .<sup>3</sup>

B, 35.  $\bar{i}w$   $bn\cdot p\cdot s$   $mty$ : Cf. n. to B, 13.

B, 36.  $\bar{i}w\cdot f$  must introduce, in B, 37, an idea continued in C, 1 ff. There seems no parallel in the above section on 'wheat', B, 8–30, except that of an alternative treatment of Peftumont's wish for gold, 'it not having been agreed to by' Talames to give him gold. This latter phrase, in the section on 'wheat'  $\bar{i}w$   $bw\cdot\bar{i}r\cdot d\bar{i}t\cdot s$   $mtyt$   $n$   $drt$   $r$   $d\bar{i}t$   $n\cdot k$   $sw$ , does not occur, however, in C; and therefore we may not be dealing with an alternative. In any event, in the lines following to C, 4, Talames appears to offer herself as guarantor for Peftumont under certain conditions.

B, 37. I have nothing to offer on the reconstruction of this line.

C, 1. . . .  $r$ : This first word I am unable to restore. The house determinative is certain, and I think of  $\mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{y} \text{ } \mathfrak{r}$   $hyr$  'street', though the space seems a little generous. There is enough room for  $\mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{y} \text{ } \mathfrak{z}$ ; but this is written  $\mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{y} \text{ } \mathfrak{z} \text{ } \mathfrak{z}$  in D, 31. The first traces would also suit  $\mathfrak{z}$ .

C, 2.  $tw\cdot y$  [ $n\epsilon$ ]  $rbl$ :  $\mathfrak{r} \text{ } \mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{y} \text{ } \mathfrak{e} \text{ } \mathfrak{h} \text{ } \mathfrak{o} \text{ } \mathfrak{l}$ , Crum, 220, 'come forth'. This may possibly be a writing of the 1st Future with  $n\epsilon$  written only once.

$n$ : This writing occurs in the P. Mag. as a direct interrogative particle five times, apparently as a variant of  $\bar{i}n$ , *Mag.*, No. 429. But  $\bar{i}n$  is used once, 6, 37, to introduce a condition, and I see no reason, therefore, why  $n$  could not have been so used also. It is to be noted, of course, that this  $\bar{i}n$  or  $n$  is most likely not the demotic ancestor of the Coptic  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ :  $\Delta\eta$ , used only to introduce conditions contrary to fact;<sup>3</sup> probably that ancestor is  $(h)wn\cdot n\bar{w}$ , cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 496. Ordinarily, the protasis should be first, but when it is very long, as above, it may follow; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 493.

[ $\bar{i}w\cdot w$ ]: The traces permit this restoration.

$\bar{d}d$   $n\cdot w$   $\bar{d}d\bar{t}\cdot s$   $\bar{d}d$ : Cf. A, 24–5.

$\bar{d}d$ : The reading seems certain.

<sup>1</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri* (London, 1906), I, 281.

<sup>2</sup> I owe these comments on  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  to Edgerton.

<sup>3</sup> Crum, 56; Stern, *op. cit.*, §§ 630, 523.

*n·w* must be an ethic dative, or be emended to *n·y*. There are no examples of the ethic dative with *dd* in demotic or Coptic, to my knowledge.

*dd*<sup>fl</sup>: **ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲥ**. This may conceivably be a noun in *c* (cf. **ⲱⲱⲛⲥ** from **ⲱⲱⲛ**, **ⲉⲁⲧⲏⲥ** from **ⲉⲁⲧⲏ**, and many others) used as a cognate accusative; otherwise the grammar is not easily explained. The above would then be, literally: 'If they say for themselves a saying...'.  
C, 3. *dd*: Cf. n. to A, 25.

*r·im·t*: **ⲁⲓⲱⲏ**. Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 216.

*r·iry*: **ⲁⲣⲓ**. I know of no examples of a feminine form. Observe here and in C, 21 the peculiar way in which the scribe writes *r·ir*. He first writes **ⲓ** and then adds **ⲥ** to it.

*šp drt*: On *ir šp drt*, cf. *Bürgs.*, index.

*n·im·f*: The proper construction for the person for whom surety is given. Cf. *Bürgs.*, 497.

C, 4. *dd* must here mean 'namely', after *n·im·f*; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 430. But why not say *r·iry šp drt n p·y·t km*, without the circumlocution of the text? If for emphasis, cf. the examples cited by Erman in Late Egyptian of emphasis by position at the end of the sentence, not the beginning, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 706.

*km*: The blot after **ⲓ** apparently caused the wide space before **ⲉ**.

*iw·f*: **ⲏⲣ** must have been omitted after *iw·f*; cf. the parallel B, 17–18.

*smn*: Cf. the note to B, 18.

C, 5. *iw·y dity·st*: B, 19 has *tw·y n· dity·st*. Gold, as 'money, coin', is usually plural; cf. Crum, 221.

C, 6. *t· Pr·yt*: The reading is certain, but who is this Queen? The only one I know of who fits the circumstances is Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who ruled Egypt for some months in A.D. 271 and issued coins with only her name and bust appearing on them.<sup>1</sup> They were struck at the Alexandrian mint and by the end of August, A.D. 271, the Romans had regained Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> Possibly Talames had some of these coins, and, wishing to be able to make payment with them, so specified in the agreement. With the Romans again in control of Egypt it would be politic to refer to Zenobia as the 'infamous Queen' and to call her 'Old Woman', though the latter term was usually one of respect. A date for this ostrakon of some years following A.D. 271 would be quite acceptable paleographically and grammatically.

*dw·t*: Cf. Crum, 794, **ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ** 'base, rejected person or thing'. *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 280, gives no antecedent, but in the 'Poème Satyrique', P. Vienna 31, I, 3 occurs **ⲏⲱⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥⲱⲧ** *p·i tn dw·t*. Revillout translates 'impure', with reference to **ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ**.<sup>3</sup> Sottas, in his later translation, gives 'inconvenant'.<sup>4</sup> Cf., also, the noun *dw·t*, **ⲏⲱⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥⲱⲧ**, of P. Insinger, 'evil, depravity'.<sup>5</sup> Wilson has suggested to me a possible connexion with *dyt* (*dytyw*), *Wb.*, v, 518 f., in the sense of 'enemy'. I feel certain that *dw·t* is here an adjective, though lacking the feminine *t*, rather than part of a proper name, *dw·t hl·yt*. In the first place, I know of no such name; and in the second, *hl·yt* is a common demotic name or title in itself. However, in P. Berlin 3116, 4, 12 occurs the name **ⲏⲱⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥⲱⲧ**, *P·i dw·t*, Greek *παντος*.<sup>6</sup>

*hl·yt*: **ⲉⲗⲗⲱ**, the feminine of **ⲉⲗⲗⲟ** 'old person', common as a name and as a title it once equals 'abbess', Crum, 669. In demotic it is equally frequent.

C, 7. *nb*: An object in anticipatory emphasis without particle, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 466.

<sup>1</sup> George Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1905), III, 539–40. <sup>2</sup> J. G. Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 3rd edn. (London, 1924), 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Un Poème Satyrique* (Paris, 1885), I, Pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Remarques sur le 'Poème Satyrique'*, *Rev. égyptol.*, 2e sér. 1 (1919), 144.

<sup>5</sup> *Lexa, op. cit.*, No. 605.

<sup>6</sup> *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 43, and UPZ, II, 180a, 8, 4.

*swn-f*:  $\text{COPENTY}^B$ . Cf. *swnt-f*,  $\text{COPENTY}^S$  in C, 18. Note that *f* not *w* resumes *nb*, though in C, 5 *nb* is referred to with *st* and in C, 8 with *w*.

C, 8. *sh*: This must be the reading, though I can't explain the small stroke over **6**, so written also in C, 18. A somewhat similar stroke occurs in the writing of *wh*, cf. C, 10. 13 for example. It is probably no more than a coincidence that both words end in *h*. If *sh* is correct, I think of  $\text{CAY}$ :  $\text{CAG}$  'stroke, blow, sore', Crum, 374, usually written in demotic  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓}$ . There may then be some connexion with the minting of coins by striking, as was then usual. Possibly we have here the meaning 'mint-value', as opposed to payment in old and worn, possibly clipped, coins. Edgerton has also called to my attention  $\text{CASHOT}$ :  $\text{CASHOT}$  'treasury', a word used only in the Bible (Crum, 379).

*bw-ir-tw-w*:  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$ . Cf. n. to B, 16. The parallel, C, 19, has *iw bn-pw*.

*tt-w*: *w* must refer to *nb* 'gold pieces'.

C, 9. *hr*: The usual preposition before the various taxes in tax receipts. Cf. *Theb. Ostr.*, Part II, *passim*.

*mdt-Pr-uw*: Note *nry-k mdtw Pr-uw* in C, 20.

*iw-ir-k*: Certainly conditional, either in a construction without a particle or perhaps with erroneous omission of *iw-f hpr* by the scribe. Cf. the parallels B, 7. 10. 31.

C, 10. *wh-w*: *w* must here be incorrect for *f* referring back to *bk* 'wages', as in B, 31.

<*nb*>: The scribe actually wrote *hd* 'silver', here, by omitting the top stroke. The emendation seems certain.

*iw-ir-k*: Also conditional, continuing the protasis.

C, 11. *dity-s*: The scribe has now corrected his lapse in C, 10 and has properly used the singular suffix *s* to refer back to *bk*. This *s* cannot refer to 'bronze pieces', which are resumed by *st* in C, 13. Cf. on this point B, 8, where *s*, following *sw*, refers not to *sw* but to *bk*, and B, 19, where *sw* is resumed by *st*.

C, 12. *try-k rmt st wn-tw-y*: Cf. the n. to B, 7.

C, 13. *dity-st*: *hmt* as money is often plural. Cf. Crum, 678,  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$ .

C, 14. *n ws n*: The following lines are possibly a clause to prevent alteration or substitution, as in B, 20. But perhaps *n-k* should be read.

*kt*: Cf. C, 25 and D, 38? I have no satisfactory interpretation of this word to offer. It may possibly be connected with the words of the stem *kd*,  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓}$ ; or it may be a unique writing of the Coptic  $\text{𐩧𐩢𐩣}$  'another'. A word  $\text{𐩧𐩢𐩣}$ , *kt* or *tt* occurs in P. Berlin 7059, 3 with the numeral 10 after it.<sup>1</sup>

*nry<sup>u</sup>*: This word is unknown to me. I feel somewhat uncertain about the plural here as *iw-f* follows, and there may be merely a fortuitous stroke after the word, as there appears to be in the following line.

*iw-f*: As the preceding words are indefinite, this may introduce a virtual relative clause.

*hqd*: Cf., perhaps,  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$ , Crum, 742, 'be in straits', and transitive 'to press, oppress'. But *Mythus*, No. 574 writes *hqd*, and this goes back to *hqd*, *Wb.*, III, 43, 'to rob'. Possibly cf. *Krūgetexte*, No. 181,  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$  *hqd* 'be in need'.

C, 15. *ryt*: This must be *Mag.*, No. 492,  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$ , with accidental or purposeful omission of  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$ . On the translation 'quarter', cf. *Ostr. Cairo 1911, 12 (Elephantine)\**  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤓𐤗}$  = P. Eleph. 13, 3 *hn iwyt hryt n Yb.*<sup>2</sup> Note the absence of the article with *iwyt*.

*gst*: An unknown word. I have no suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Spieg., Dem. Pap. Eleph.*, Pl. 10.

C, 16. *Dm*: I have found no other writing with this determinative. Wilson has suggested to me that it may possibly be the *km-st-f* serpent of Medinet Habu,<sup>1</sup> or a misrendering of the common crocodile determinative.

*hbc*: The determinative suggests some sort of money or valuable; but I have nothing to offer.

C, 17. *Hm-nsw*: A place-name I am unable to identify.



C, 18. *swnt-f*: Cf. the n. to C, 7.

*sh*: Cf. the n. to C, 8.





C, 19. *iw bn-p-w*: C, 8 has *iw bw-ir-tw-w*.

C, 21. *r-ir*: Cf. the n. to C, 3.

C, 22. *dd* is omitted in A, 3.






*iw-ir(t)*: *Dem. Gr.*, § 162 quotes only one demotic example of 2nd Future, and that is not after *iw-f hpr*. Cf. the n. to B, 19.  for  occurs once in *Mythus*, 21, 23.





C, 23. *nry*: So written *Mag.*, No. 289.

*hr nry*: The second group can hardly be read *ky* 'other, another', as there should then be only two strokes under *k*, and *hr ky* gives no sense. I think we must emend by reading *nry*, the scribe omitting the initial , as in that word in this same line. We should then have *hr nry*  'thus', which is the sense we want here; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 287, and Crum, 645. Another possibility would be to read *ky*, , with omission of the determinative , cf. *Mag.*, No. 902. *hr ky* would give us something of the same idea as *hr nry*. Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 287, *d, hr pry-w gy* 'in their manner'. In favour of the second reading is the fact that the scribe started on *iw* with a fresh brushful of ink, and it would have been easier for him to omit the last sign of *ky* than the first sign of *nry*.

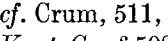
C, 24. *cs m-sr-t n nry*: On this formula see *Bürigs.*, 404.

*cn*: What is written seems to be . This can hardly be read *2t*, cf. the quite different form in A, 24.

*nt*: From  to the end of *Iy-m-htp* in C, 26 is repeated in D, 37-9. D, 37 ends with , suggesting but not proving a break between it and the following word. In D, 5 a similar group is to be read *n* of the 2nd Future, but hardly so here. The dative *n-t* does not fit here, and it is to be noted that the *t* in this group differs from the suffix *-t*, being  rather than ; cf. C, 31. We may possibly have a particle of some sort here, perhaps  (*pe*). Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 510.

*hc-y*: After , the sign may be either  or . The latter seems more likely, as we should expect a determinative before *-y*, but I consider the reading questionable in any event as I have no certain idea of the meaning of the word or the sentence. In D, 38 there is a break after . Wilson has suggested to me a possible connexion with the verb *hc* > *hc* (?), *Wb.*, III, 364 (6), in the meanings 'drain, empty, exhaust'.<sup>2</sup>

*ycm*: Cf. D, 14.

C, 25. *nt*: This is no doubt the same group as in the preceding line, and there may be a parallelism between *nt hc-y ycm* and *nt sh kt Tkm-s t Iy-m-htp*. It could conceivably be a dative, as Edgerton has pointed out to me that the word-order breaks down in Coptic, cf. Crum, 511,  'Cut a garment for me', and many examples Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 508; and there is a demotic example in Setna, 4, 25 *my di-w s n-y* 'Let it be given to me' (quoted with careless description in *Dem. Gr.*, § 463). Further, contrast Setna, 4, 27 *nty iw ty st-hmt dd nry mdw tyt i-ir-hr-f* with Setna, 5, 3 *sd-y i-ir-hr-f n md nb r-dd-s n-f dr-w*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, *Abh. Berlin*, 1929, No. 4, §§ 110-12.

<sup>2</sup> Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, 161 f.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith, *Stories*, 117, 123. I owe these references to Edgerton.

*sh*: D, 38 writes *sh*. Cf., perhaps, Crum, 379, *cige* 'move, withdraw'. Note also *n: hdw nty wtb m-s: p: sh* (𐓣𐓥𐓧) 'the silver pieces which 'remain in excess' after the outlay'.<sup>1</sup>

*kt*: Cf. C, 14.

C, 26. *iy*: Active, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 110.

*iw*: Qualitative, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 110. For the scribe's leaning toward redundancy, cf. the n. on B, 4.

C, 27. *py-y*: Perhaps to be emended to *py-t*, as there are hardly two gardens figuring in the agreement, one owned by each party; or can we translate 'the garden in my charge'?

(*iw*)-*ir*-(*t*): Cf. n. to C, 30.

*dd*: Emend to *ty*; cf. the n. to D, 17. Cf. *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 261, *xi* 'to wear (a garment)', and Setna, 4, 22 *iw p: mšc n Mn-nfr ty pht* 'the people of Memphis wearing mourning linen'.

*bts*: Edgerton suggests possibly *βáros* 'shrub, bramble'.

C, 28. *dd* must here be a preposition equivalent to *r-db*, deriving its meaning from its use as a conjunction, 'because'. I know of no other demotic example.

*hy*: So written *Mag.*, No. 639. Cf. *𐓣𐓥* 'sun'.

*tbwy*: So written Harfner 60,<sup>2</sup> Ostr. Strassburg D 198, 3,† and others. Cf. Crum, 443, *tooꜣe* 'pair of shoes, shoe'.

C, 29. *gs[w]*: Cf. *Ryl. Pap.*, 400. The missing determinative may be 𐓣𐓥.

C, 30. *iw-ir-t*: 2nd Present in emphatic use, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 158. This must be parallel to *iw-ir-t* in C, 32. 34. 35 and suggests that C, 27 should read the same.

*mr-t*: Cf. Spieg., *Petub.*, 8, 12 *mr-f s n nwyf lbs* 'He girt himself with his armour', sim. 8, 25; 15, 21. The writing I believe to be a confusion between *Mag.*, No. 376, *𐓣𐓥 mr* 'bind', and No. 378, *𐓣𐓥 mr* 'love'. Cf. also *Mag.*, No. 377, *𐓣𐓥 / r mr* 'across, beyond (?)', and *𐓣𐓥 / r mr* 'on board ship (?)'. This last suggests that *𐓣𐓥* was originally *𐓣𐓥*.

*r bl hr*: *𐓣𐓥 𐓣𐓥*. Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 322.

*pht*-'w': Cf. Crum, 284, *𐓣𐓥*, though written *𐓣𐓥* in *Mag.*, No. 316. Note, however, the writing of *𐓣𐓥 / r pht-f* 'to its end', *Mag.*, No. 314. Does *w* refer to 'the sunshine' and 'the stones'?

[*n*]: This restoration fits the trace and the space and is in the idiom of Petubastis, 8, 12; cf. the note on *mr-t*.

C, 31. *rh-tw*: Cf. Crum, 312, *𐓣𐓥* 'a monkish garment, leather apron (?)'. Some leather aprons were found in the monastery of Epiphanius.<sup>3</sup> The determinative may be read 𐓣, cf. *hytt*, C, 34, and *wncš*, C, 35.

*dd*: The parallelism of lines before and after would seem to require 'because of' here, but what then is 'nt'?

'nt': The 't' was written 𐓣 and then 𐓣 or vice versa. Cf. C, 24-5.

*w . . .*: What is written is *𐓣𐓥 𐓣𐓥*. This is probably one word, but I have no suggestion to make. The determinative is perhaps 𐓣, indicating an animal as in the following lines.

C, 32. . . : This should be a verb, as *py-y hs* follows with no genitive element. Possibly *iw-f* precedes, a virtual relative after *w w . . .*.

*hs*: Cf., perhaps, *Mythus*, No. 561, *𐓣𐓥 𐓣𐓥 hs* 'song, singer'. Are we possibly concerned here with some ceremonial?

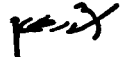
<sup>1</sup> E. Revillout, *Mélanges sur la Métrologie, l'Économie Politique, et l'Histoire de l'Ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1895), 53.

<sup>2</sup> E. Revillout, *Poème Satyrique*, Pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Winlock and Crum, *op. cit.*, I, 76.



*iw-ir*[*t*]: The traces indicate *t* was written.

C, 33. *nwy*: Cf. Crum, 235, **ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲃⲓ**, all Boh. 'spear'.  *nw*, so

translated by Lexa, *op. cit.*, No. 238, contra Spieg., *Petub.*, No. 194, who gave meaning 'banner, pennant'. Spieg.<sup>1</sup> later accepted Lexa's correction. I don't know what correction is involved in the writing. Perhaps there is an attempt to write *b* or *hb*, cf. the Coptic forms.

C, 34. *dd*: Cf. n. to C, 28.

*hyt*: **ⲭⲟ(ϵ)ⲓⲧⲉ** 'hyena', Crum, 720. Note the writing in *Mag.*, No. 552.

*syt*: Elsewhere usually written **ⲥⲧⲓⲛⲓⲧ** *syt*.

C, 35. *wnš*: Cf. *Mag.*, No. 203.

C, 36. [*w*]: This restoration seems certain.

... *gy*: Cf., perhaps, *Mythus*, No. 506, **ⲕⲓⲕⲓⲧⲓⲛ** *hky* 'to crack, crunch (?) (the fruit of the *dūm*-palm)'. The noun may mean an instrument for breaking or cracking. Cf., perhaps, Crum, 662, **ⲟⲩⲁⲕⲓ** among iron **ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲩⲩⲓ**.

*tp-(n)-iwtw*: On the reading cf. Nims, *The Demotic Group for 'Small Cattle'*, *JEA* 22, 51-4.

D, 1. *krwr*: **ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ**. What is written is **ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ**. On the writing cf. P. Louvre 3263 **ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ**.<sup>2</sup> I believe *krwr* to be the correct reading with a correction involved on the second sign. Perhaps there was some confusion with **ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ** 'ring'.

*iw-w*: The *w* of *iw* is a correction.

D, 2. *tbwtw*: On the writing cf. *Mag.*, No. 1003.

*sbr*: Cf., perhaps, **ⲥⲃⲣ** **ⲛⲓⲣⲣⲧ**, *sbr* 'twig, tendril', and the phrase *sbr n iwr* 'grape-vine branches', *Wb.*, iv, 90 (7-8).

D, 3. *wn*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 441.

*htwl*: Cf. Crum, 555, **ⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ**: **ⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ** 'ichneumon', Boh. only. As a cipher in P. Mag. it appears as **ⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ**.<sup>3</sup> A demotic writing occurs in Ostr. Strassburg D 768, **ⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ**. Cf. also **ⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ**, *Wb.*, iii, 236 (10).

*ms*: Or 'has been born'?

*šdy*: I have nothing definite to suggest. Cf., perhaps, the common word 'remuneration, temple-dues, etc.', as in *Dodec.*, No. 342. The house determinative might then indicate a business office.

D, 4. *ns*: Or *ts*?

*šdr*: The usual writing of *šdr* 'to sleep' is **ⲟⲩⲁⲧ**, cf. *Mag.*, No. 812. The **ⲟⲩ** of our word appears rather to be the water determinative, but note the writing of the jar determinative, usually written very like the cloth determinative of *šdr*, in *nh* in E, 6 (see Pl. 4). It is just possible that we have here the cloth determinative written badly. I have no translation to offer. Cf., perhaps, *Mythus*, No. 745, **ⲟⲩⲁⲧ** 'resting-place'.

*šhr*: What is written is **ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲓⲱⲗ**. The **ⲓ** is somewhat doubtful; possibly *šhry* is written, but I can't see the third stroke of the *y*. Cf. *Mythus*, No. 16, **ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲓⲱⲗ** *šhr* 'swamp', and Crum, 25, **ⲁⲟⲩⲣⲉ**: **ⲁⲟⲩⲣⲉ**: **ⲁⲟⲩ** = **ⲉⲗⲟⲩ** 'low ground by rivers, marsh-meadow'.

*isw*: **ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ**.

D, 5. *nty r*: *Mag.*, No. 481 gives this as the relative of the perfect = **ⲛⲧⲁ**. This it is not, as Spieg. has declared, *Dem. Gr.*, § 535. The relative of the perfect does occur in P. Mag., 5, 14 *mu*ss . . . *nty iw wš-k dit hpr pš kk pš wyn nš-hr-f* 'Moses . . . before whom thou didst

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur Erklärung des neuen dreisprachigen Priesterdekretes zu Ehren des Ptolemaios Philopator, Sitzungsber. München*, Jahrgang 1925, Abh. 4, 24. I owe this reference to Edgerton.

<sup>2</sup> E. Revillout, *Chrestomathie Démotique* (Paris, 1880), 370.

<sup>3</sup> *Mag.*, 111.

create darkness and light'. *nty iw wsh-k* must be  $\overline{\text{NTAK}}$ .<sup>1</sup> What then is this form, *nty r*, which occurs ten times in the P. Mag., always with past meaning? I have no adequate explanation to offer.

*wf*: Cf. *Mythus*, 22, 17 *n wf-k* ( $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ ) *ky nb* 'Have you not selected any steer?' This word is usually written with the determinative  $\text{𐤏}$ , but Brugsch has an example  $\text{𐤏𐤏}$ .<sup>2</sup>

*mr-ih*: Ostr. Strassburg D 882 has, in uncertain context,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  read by Spiegelberg *nr mr-ihw*.† This reading seems certain from our group with the personal determinative. P. Mag. writes *mr*  $\text{𐤏}$ , but in the expression *mr pr stt*, *mr* is found written  $\text{𐤏}$ .<sup>3</sup> *Mag.*, No. 119 writes *ih*  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ . I see no connexion between  $\text{𐤏}$  and  $\text{𐤏}$ , but suggest that the latter, the determinative of hair, was added to the title 'herder' when he was a 'sheep herder', a 'shepherd'. Cf. also the title *wrt* with the hair determinative, which Spieg. compared with *sr* 'wool', and read 'wool-shearer'.<sup>4</sup>

$\text{𐤏𐤏}$ : This must be the reading, cf. the parallels D, 7 and D, 11. Either  $\text{𐤏}$  is an abbreviation for *n* as the future element, or the scribe started to write *n* and left it unfinished and the  $\text{𐤏}$  incomplete.

*gmf-w*: Cf. n. to A, 32.

D, 6. *ny-s*: The *-s* is certainly wrong. There is no antecedent for it. Either we should have here *ny-w* as in the parallel D, 8, or *ny-t* with reference to Talames.

*wtbw*: Cf., perhaps,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  'pierced place. hole', Crum, 497. In P. Louvre 31  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  occurs three times, twice of a window and once of a door, written  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ .<sup>5</sup>

*tp-(n)-inwtw*: The scribe first wrote  $\text{𐤏}$  as the initial sign, then corrected it to  $\text{𐤏}$ . There seems little doubt that he thought he was writing the first letter of  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ . Cf. n. to C, 36.

D, 7. *ir bl*: Cf. Crum, 83,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  =  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ . So also in demotic, cf., for example, P. Loeb 26, 5 *ir bl n-im-tn* 'flee from you'.<sup>6</sup>

*nr*: There is a correction here from  $\text{𐤏}$  to  $\text{𐤏}$ .

*gmw*: In the break is to be restored  $\text{𐤏𐤏}$ . In the writing of this word there is usually an initial stroke like this,  $\text{𐤏}$ , and often an  $\text{𐤏}$  is written before it. Cf. Spieg., *Petub.*, No. 52,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ . Our word begins  $\text{𐤏𐤏}$ .

D, 8. *gmf-f* is clearly wrong. Emend to *gmf-w*.

$\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏}$ : This word is unknown to me. The *n* may possibly be read *s*.

D, 9. *blbylt*: Cf. Crum, 37,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  'a single grain or a single fruit, a grape or date in a bunch, on a stalk'. Note the writing in *Mag.*, No. 266. I prefer the translation 'grape' because of the connexion with 'wine-press' and 'vat' in D, 14-15. The scribe wrote only this word on the line because of the downward running of previous lines.

D, 10. *nty r*: Cf. the n. to D, 5.

*iy*: This reading seems certain; on the writing see C, 26.

*irt-s*: Here the initial sign of A, 25 is lacking. The suffix *-s* must refer to *tr blbylt*. In modern vine-growing, an 'eye' is a bud having about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. of wood above and 1 in. below, to be planted; and it may also apply to any bud.<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Crum, 31,  $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  'date's eye' = date stone (?). 'Eye' here might then mean 'bud', 'seed', 'stone'.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Edgerton, *On the Origin of Certain Coptic Verbal Forms*, *JAOS* 55, 257-61.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus* (Leipzig, 1891), 1054.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in *Theb. Ostr.*, D 24, Pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Spieg., *Neue Urkunden zum ägyptischen Tierkultus*, *Sitzungsb. München*, 1928, Abh. 3, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Léon Denisse, *Deux Papyrus Démotiques* (Paris, 1892), Pl. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Spieg., *Dem. Pap. Loeb*, 60, Pl. 17.

<sup>7</sup> 'Vine', *Encycl. Brit.*, 14th edn., Vol. XIV.

*špy*: So written in P. Insinger.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Crum, 576,  $\overline{\text{w}}\text{p}\text{ne}$ . Note, however, the verb  $\overline{\text{w}}\text{p}$  'to be blind', *Wb.*, iv, 443, used since Pyramid times but with no Coptic descendant given. Possibly we have here a technical horticultural expression retaining this *šp* idiomatically and writing it like the common *špy*. In any event the sense seems clear; the vine was not barren.

D, 11. *iw:s*: Badly written as in B, 11. Here, and in the following lines, there seems to be a shift from the 2nd pers. fem. to the 3rd pers. fem. Following D, 5 and D, 7 we should expect to find here *tw:t nē*,  $\text{tena-}$ , rather than  $\text{ena-}$ .

$\overline{\text{w}}\text{p}\text{ne}$ : Cf. *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 266; Crum, 766,  $\text{awawne}$  'gather harvest (fruit, corn, flowers)'.

Written  $\overline{\text{w}}\text{p}\text{ne}$  in P. Heidelberg 723, 18, see *Bürge.*, Pl. 19. The scribe has here written the suffix *·s* before the determinative, as  $\overline{\text{w}}\text{p}\text{ne}$ ; cf. the same peculiarity in D, 16 *pnek:f*.

*byr*: Cf. A, 15. The omission of the indefinite article seems strange, but it must be understood because of the following *iw:f šlm*.

D, 12. *iw:f*: This must be a virtual relative clause after *byr*, unless *iw:f* is an error for *iw:s*, and thus a circumstantial clause referring back to *tw blbylt*.

*šlm*: I have found nothing satisfactory in demotic or Coptic. Edgerton has reminded me of the Semitic *šlm* which has several meanings which might apply, e.g., 'be complete', 'be full (of a weight or measure)', 'be in good condition'.

*nty iw:s*: There are a succession of phrases introduced by *nty iw:s* in the following lines, all apparently objects in anticipation. In all the other phrases *nty* is resumed by *·f* not *·s* as here, and as here no article appears before *nty*. If *·s* is correct, then we should expect either the feminine article before *nty* or we should understand *tw blbylt*, the nearest feminine antecedent. But the latter refers to a single grape, and would hardly be used collectively. Perhaps we should emend here to *fytf* and understand *byr* as the antecedent. But *byr* is indefinite. The best translation seems to be 'what', with no antecedent expressed, as in Mid. Egn. *nty nb rn:f hr wd pn* 'Every one whose name is on this stela . . .',<sup>2</sup> and in Amarna texts *nty hr:f* 'what is on it (the earth)'.<sup>3</sup> The absence of any article before *nty* is striking, but since it is missing in all six cases, it can hardly be an error.

D, 13. *hst*: Can this possibly be  $\text{st}$ , fem., 'mare'? That is never written with  $\text{st}$  for  $\text{st}$  to my knowledge.

*iw:s*: Probably circumstantial with reference to *nty*, here feminine as it is resumed by *·s*. Also note the following sentences.

$\text{st}$ : Cf. *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 293,  $\text{st}$  'to conquer, drive away, dispose of (goods)'.

D, 14. [*nty iw:s*]: The restoration seems certain.

$\text{st}$ : See n. to D, 12 on the shift from *·s* to *·f*.

$\text{st}$ : Cf. Crum, 77,  $\text{st}$ .

*iw:f*: Circumstantial with *nty*, here masculine.

$\text{st}$ : Cf. Crum, 280,  $\text{st}$  'break, burst, tear'. Note also P. Berlin 13621, 2, 16,  $\text{st}$  'to tear up (a document)'.<sup>4</sup>

D, 15. [*nty iw:s*] *dit*: The space fits and the parallels seem to require this restoration.

$\text{st}$ : Cf. Crum, 704,  $\text{st}$  'wine-press, vat'. In Coptic this word is feminine. No certain demotic writings are known to me.



*iw:f*: As  $\text{st}$  is feminine, translating *iw:f* here and in the parallels as circumstantial after *nty* is confirmed.

<sup>1</sup> Lexa, *op. cit.*, No. 484.

<sup>2</sup> Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 199.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 838.

<sup>4</sup> Spieg., *Aus einer ägyptischen Zivilprozessordnung d. Ptolemäerzeit*, *Abh. München* (1929), No. 1, p. 9, Pl. 1.


D, 16. *pṛkḥf*: Another example of the scribe writing the suffix before the determinative; cf. D, 11. The *p* is a correction. The scribe first wrote  and added  to it. On the translation cf. Crum, 265, *ḥwḥr* '(a) draw, bail (water, etc.), (b) transfer, carry'. Elsewhere in demotic, the verb usually means only 'draw (water)', cf. Spieg., *Krügetexte*, No. 78, and Spieg., *Petub.*, No. 130.

D, 17. *.ḥyḥ*: I can't restore this word and I feel uncertain of its partial reading.


*tḥf*: The scribe first wrote *ḏḏ* and then corrected it to *tḥ*; see C, 27. The omission of the strong *t* after *tḥ* and before the suffix occurs only here in this document.

D, 18. *ṛn tḥ*: This seems the only possible reading. The second *n* of *n tḥ n* is often omitted, cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 387. On the common phrase in leases *tḥ n pḥ rd n ḥst-sp*, etc., cf. *Bürgs.*, 14.


*tkm*: The tree or shrub which produces the oil of like name, old *dgm*.

D, 19. *[tḥtḥf]*: This restoration seems certain, and the tip of the tail of the *f* is visible. But a verb such as *intḥf*,  would also fit the space.

*n*: I am inclined to think that this is the indirect genitive after *nty*, though I know of no similar example. Cf., however, P. Mag., 10, 10 *ḥwḥf wḥb n in n pḥ yḥr* 'clean sand brought from the great river'.


*ḥmḥ*: *ḥmḥ*. Ostr. Strassburg D 174 writes . On this word cf. Lange's note to Amenemope, 24, 13.<sup>1</sup>

*ḥyrt*: *ḥyrt*. Cf. *Mythus*, No. 554.

D, 20. *ṛwnw*: This word may have begun with some sign, now lost, before *wn*. If not, cf., perhaps, the verb *wn* 'to open', as written in II Khamuas, 3, 17; 5, 12, .





*n ḥstḥs*: Cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 306.


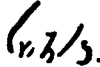
D, 21. *ḥw*: *ḥw* appears to resume all the preceding *nty* clauses.

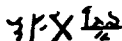
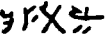
D, 22. *ṛpḥ*: The traces here present difficulties. After *ḏit ḥw*, *ṛ pḥ* would be proper enough, but that reading fails to account for the stroke above. It seems quite unlikely that we should reconstruct  and read *n pḥ*.

*ṛḥpt*: I have no idea what this word is, if it is only one word.

*mtw-t*: A shift back from the 3rd to the 2nd person.

D, 23. *srf*: The determinative, from the traces, may be , rather than . The correction, from the brush-marks, is from  to . I am quite uncertain of the translation.

Possibly cf.  *srf* 'to pacify, quiet', *Wb.*, iv, 197 (8), written in P. Insinger .

*b[ṛ]ḥ*: Cf. Crum, 44, *ḥpḥwḥ*, pl. *ḥpḥwḥ* 'a transport animal, not the ass, perhaps the camel'. I feel sure that this reading is correct, though the word does not occur elsewhere in demotic. The trace of the *ḥ* makes it almost certain, and there is ample room for the restoration of *r*. What I read as the determinative—cf., for example, *Mag.*, No. 34,  *ḥw* 'animal', and No. 886,  *ḥ* 'bull'—may be a separate word, cf. D, 25, but I don't know then how to read it. Probably we have the plural here rather than the singular, as with *ḥpḥwḥ* one would expect the vowel to be shown between the *p* and the *ḥ*, rather than as it is.


*n-ḥm-w*: The *ḥw* continues the resumption of all the *nty* phrases.

D, 24. *mtw-f*: Possibly emend to *mtw-t* as the parallels D, 22. 25 ff.; or emend to *mtw-y* as a 3rd person reference to Peftumont.

*intḥw*: *ḥw* must here refer to *ḥḥh*.

<sup>1</sup> H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch d. Amenemope* (Copenhagen, 1925), 125.




article. Cf. P. Loeb 41, 4  'loss, damage' from old *gsw*.<sup>1</sup> Unless this and the following phrase are connected to the preceding sentence, they seem to hang in the air. The lacunae and the unknown words make this section extremely difficult to deal with.

*iw-s*: Another shift from 2nd to 3rd person?


D, 33. *šn*: The restoration, , is certain from the traces.


*mtw*-[*t*]: The restoration of *t* in this context is most uncertain.

...*lp*: I can't restore this word. Cf., possibly, Crum, 331,  'break, cut off', though the determinative hardly suits.

*n*: Introduces the object?


D, 34. *h* . . . .: One word here or two? There is clearly too much space for *hys* of A, 29, unless for some reason, a scar or break on the pot, the scribe spaced the word differently.

[*ht*]: On this restoration cf. *Mag.*, No. 632, where *n ht* (= ) is used with pronouns for *hn*. Here, with a noun, it may also be equivalent to *hn*.

*lms*: Cf. Crum, 143,  'foulness, putrescence; a kind of sour wine'.

D, 35. [*šy* . . .]: I can't identify this place-name.

*ghw*: Another unknown word.

D, 36. [*Pr* . . . *bn*]: *Pr* seems quite likely, cf. *Mag.*, Nos. 301–6, place-names. The determinative  occurs in the name of This, cf. *Mag.*, No. 1022. I can't identify [*Pr* . . . *bn*].

[*wmh-w*]: A verb, or possibly a plural noun. I have no suggestions.

D, 37. [*nt*]: From here to end of *Iy-m-htp* in D, 39, cf. the parallel C, 24–6 and nn. there.

D, 38. *sh*: In C, 25 *sh*.

D, 39. *sh*: For the writing, cf. *Dodec.*, No. 313. This word seems to stand alone. We should expect the scribe's name to follow, but nothing appears on the next line.

### Conclusion

Having thus dealt lengthily, if not exhaustively, with the various philological questions posed by the translation of this document, we are now in a position to discuss it in more general terms and to give it its place, if we can, in demotic literature.

Two persons are concerned: Talames, daughter of Imuthes, the owner of a garden, and Peftumont, son of Udjaf, its prospective gardener. Columns A and B and the first 20 lines of Column C, with one interruption (A, 34–B, 3), present her requirements of him and her terms for payment of his wages. The remainder of the document concerns his interests and what he expects of her. He is required (A, 3–A, 34) to water the garden and maintain its irrigation channels without compulsion; to hand over at evening his completed work; to make, in the evenings, four baskets of palm fibre for the transportation of earth; to protect the garden against sparrows and crows; and to submit his dung for examination, with a penalty of one obol to be paid for every appearance in it of a certain product, the inference being that Talames was taking this method of controlling pilfering by her gardener.

At this point in the document occurs the interruption noted above. Peftumont claims the right to eat grapes given to him by a friend and Talames apparently agrees but warns him against any double dealing.

Having detailed her requirements, Talames now proceeds to the matter of wages. No amount is mentioned, and we may infer either that Peftumont is on trial or that the more industrious a workman he is, the higher will be his wages. Statements are made regarding

<sup>1</sup> *Spieg.*, *Dem. Pap.* Loeb, 72, Pl. 24.

payment in wheat, gold, and bronze. Peftumont apparently has the right to decide in which medium he is to be paid (B, 8. 10. 31-2; C, 10-13) but Talames hedges this with various qualifications contingent on her desire or ability to meet his wish. Thus, in the section on wages in wheat (B, 7-30) she states two alternative methods of payment in what may be wheat products, the first of which is uncertain (B, 11-14) and the second of which is *gaga*-bread (B, 14-17), in the event that he insists on wheat and she has not agreed to it specifically. Having agreed, however, to pay in wheat, she specifies the measure to be used, and perhaps the place of payment (B, 17-24), but disclaims any obligation to mill the wheat (B, 25-30).

For wages in gold (B, 31-C, 9), an alternative (B, 31-6) or alternatives (B, 37-C, 4) are also given, in the event that she is not agreeable. Unfortunately, unknown words and breaks interrupt the translation here and the connexion between his wages and Talames' guarantee to act as surety for him, should he be arrested, is not clear. Payment in gold, agreed to by Talames, has the further qualification that it may be made in coinage of the 'infamous Queen' (C, 4-6), who may well be Zenobia of Palmyra. Payment in bronze (C, 9-20) seems to meet with no particular objection. A statement regarding taxes, the exact meaning of which is not clear to me, closes the two sections on gold (C, 7-9) and bronze (C, 17-20).

The remainder of the document is concerned with the stipulations of Peftumont. After an obscure introductory passage comes a delightful picture of Talames on a visit to her garden, garbed and armed according to specifications laid down by him (C, 26-36). This section was possibly to insure himself against any claim for damages in the event of an injury to her, and it constitutes an interesting, but at present unprofitable, field for speculation. Following this are several statements that seem to be irrelevant to the business of the agreement (D, 1-8). They are not stipulations and their presence here remains a puzzle.

With D, 9 the document drops into the third person, setting forth the obligations or rights of Talames with respect to the picking and disposal of the grapes of her garden. The second person is resumed in D, 22, and continues with minor exceptions to the end. The lacunae and the unknown words make this section most difficult, but it seems apparent that all the risks of transportation are to be borne by Talames. The document closes without a scribal signature.

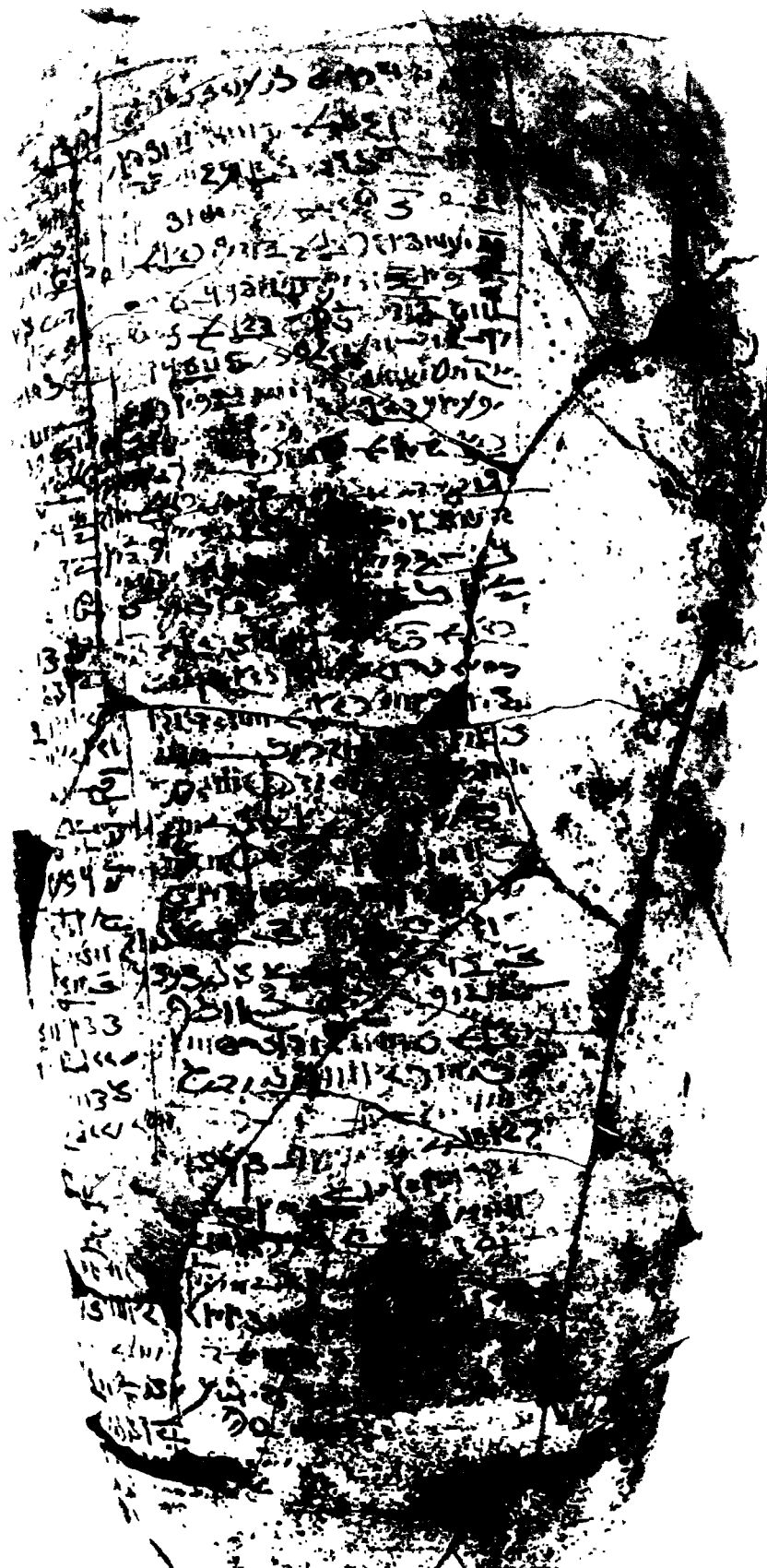
We may now hazard an opinion on the circumstances of the composition of this document. Talames and Peftumont, having come to a verbal agreement as to the cultivation of her garden, have met in the presence of a scribe, and possibly one or more witnesses, to have a written record made. As the owner of the garden she speaks first, addressing Peftumont, and the scribe writes down, on a large jar, her statements as she makes them. Peftumont interrupts her (A, 34-6) with a qualification which may not have occurred to him previously. This she acknowledges (A, 37-B, 3) before continuing her statement. The careful phraseology she uses, especially in the wage section with its concern for all eventualities, so characteristic of the Egyptian legal mind, suggests that she has received expert advice beforehand, or at least has given the matter much thought.

Talames having concluded, Peftumont speaks for himself, at first addressing her directly. Later (D, 9) he apparently turns to the scribe, or to another person, and speaks of Talames in the third person. He turns again to her (D, 22-3) whereupon she interrupts him with a remark to the scribe (D, 24). He continues to speak directly to her for a time, but then again addresses the scribe (D, 32). Once more he turns to her (D, 33 or D, 37 surely) with the scribe faithfully recording all these variations, and shortly he concludes.

Who kept this record? We cannot say. No such person as a *syngraphophylax* or *ꜥrbꜥ* is mentioned, nor does our document resemble any of the 'Letters of Agreement' associated

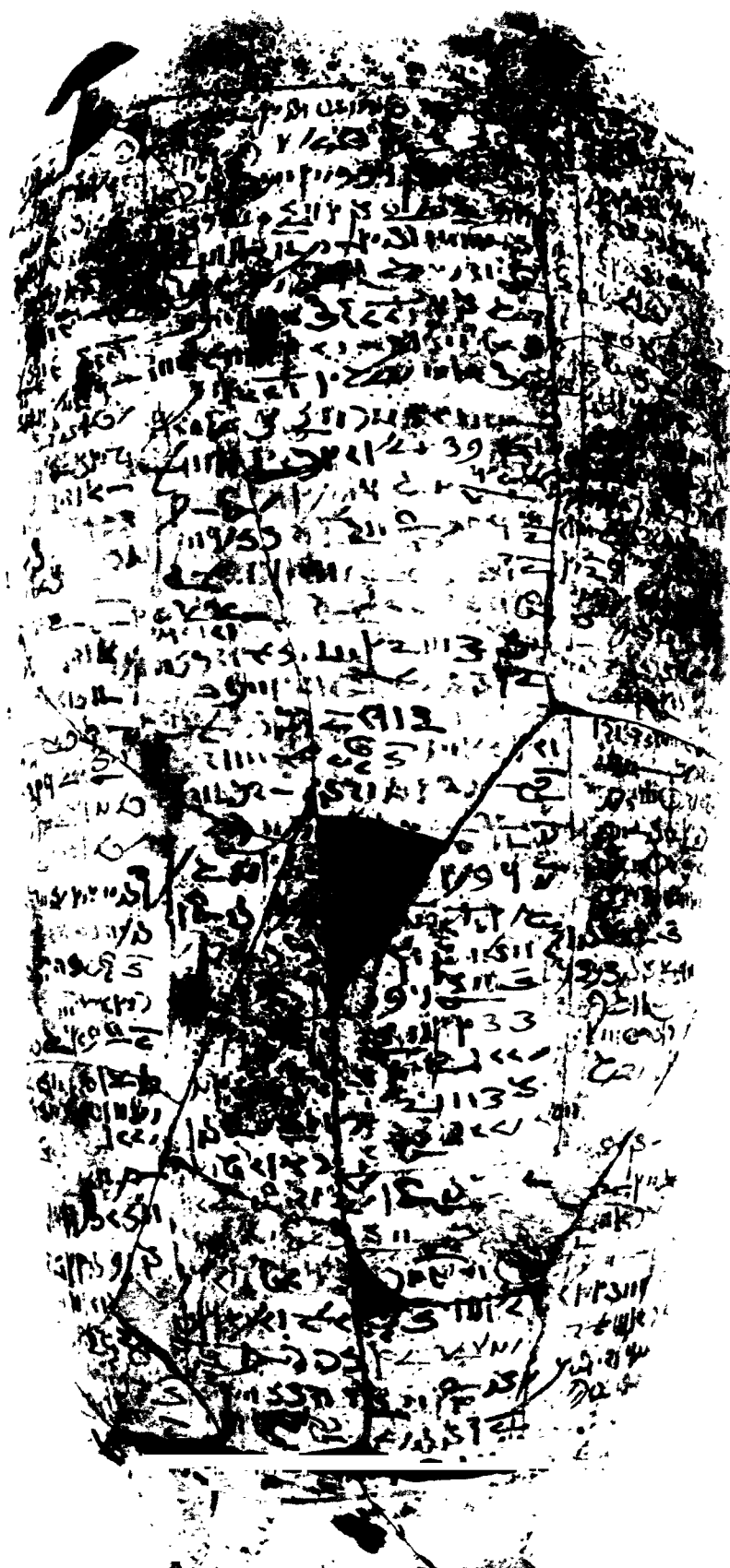






DEMOTIC GARDENING AGREEMENT: Col. A

(Scale c. 1: 2)

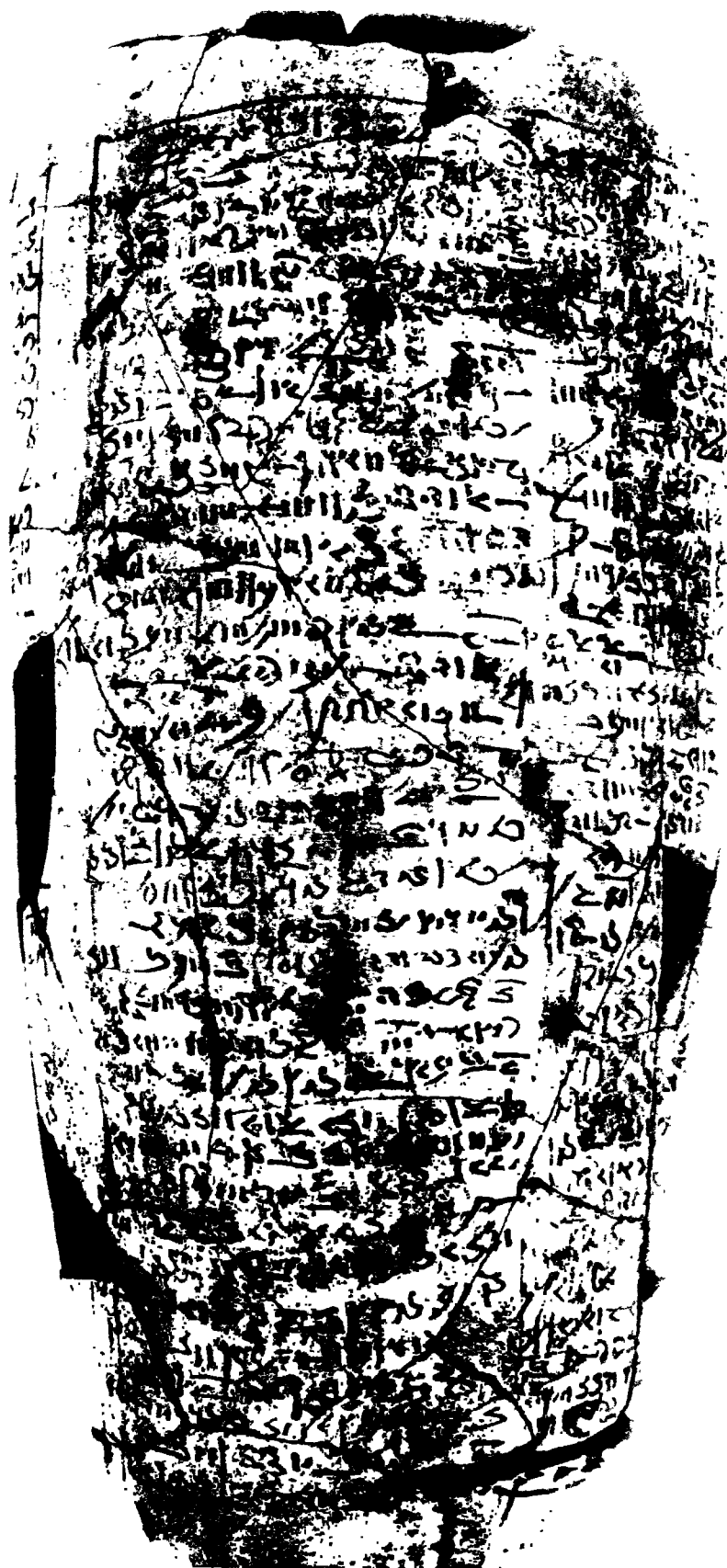


DEMOTIC GARDENING AGREEMENT: Col. B

(Scale c. 1: 2)

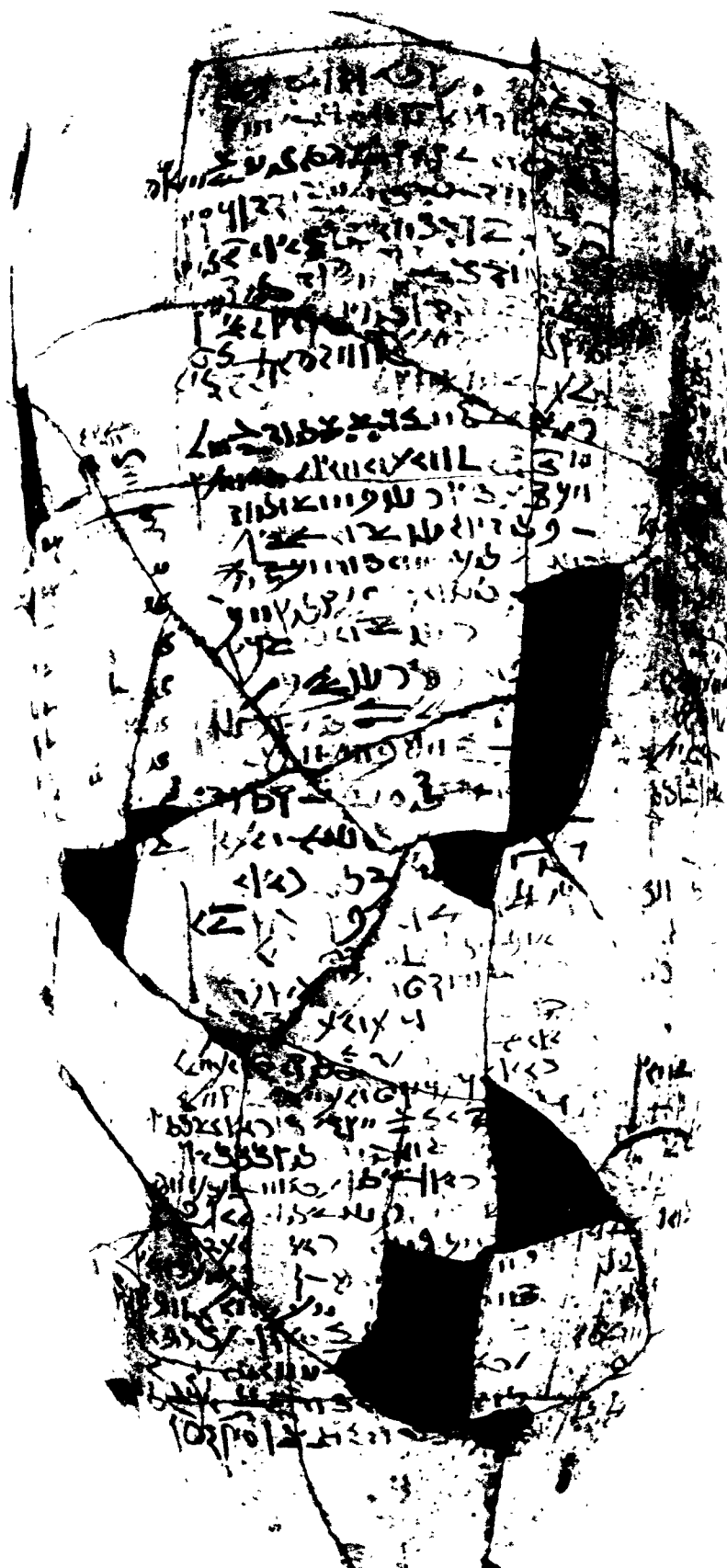






DEMOTIC GARDENING AGREEMENT: Col. C

(Scale c. 1: 2)



DEMOTIC GARDENING AGREEMENT: Col. D

(Scale c. 1: 2)



with the ⲉⲃⲧ.<sup>1</sup> One would naturally assume that a disinterested person had the custody of it, but this remains an assumption.

What precise legal force had it? That again is most uncertain. On what we would assume would be the most important point, the amount of the wages to be paid Peftumont, it is silent. In this respect it is quite at variance with the customary Coptic contracts for work.<sup>2</sup> Also, it is undated; no term of employment is indicated; and there are no signatures of witnesses. On the other hand, its wealth of detail and its complicated provisions suggest that it had some binding significance. It must surely have been more than a mere aid to memory.

Other documents of like nature may help us to answer such questions more satisfactorily. In any event there remains for us the vivid picture of two ancient personalities, with their small contribution to our growing knowledge of their life and times.

<sup>1</sup> On the ⲉⲃⲧ and his function, cf. C. F. Nims, *Notes on Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia*, *JEA* 24, 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Crum and Bell, *op. cit.*, 132-5; Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. of the BM.*, 441 f.



## ON THE DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PREFECT'S LETTER: P. OXY. 2106

By A. SEGRÈ

IN P. Oxy. 2106 the Prefect of Egypt sends a letter to the magistrates, the senators, and to the logistes of Oxyrhynchos giving them the order to collect 38 pounds of gold to be delivered at Nicomedia.

People who are citizens of Oxyrhynchos and have property are bound to pay according to their means. The *rationalis Aegypti* provides that those who bring gold get the exchange of 100,000 denarii for a pound.<sup>1</sup>

P. Oxy. 2106 appeared to the Edd. to belong to the time of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. I think that further evidence shows that the document was written shortly before August 2, 304.

The price of a pound of gold was 50,000 denarii in the year 301 (Ed.d.p.r.v.) and 125,000 denarii in 307.<sup>2</sup> As the denarius was steadily falling in value with relation to gold,<sup>3</sup> we have to suppose that the date of the document must be a couple of years before 307.

The date August 2, 304, seems to be extremely probable because Diocletian was in Nicomedia between the beginning of 304 and his abdication, which took place there on May 1, 305. The letter of the prefect was written before August 2, 304, and thirty days later, September 1, 304, the gold had to be sent to Nicomedia through Alexandria.

Why did Diocletian need gold in Nicomedia? We know he was asking continuously for money for his great public expenses,<sup>4</sup> but we can get a more accurate answer from Vaglieri, in E. de Ruggiero's *Dizionario epigrafico s.v. Diocletianus*, p. 1862:

‘Indubbiamente al suo sentimento d'orientale occorreva che Nicomedia, la capitale dell' Oriente (*Oriens Aug(usti)* e *Aug(ustorum duorum)*) nelle monete, Cohen n. 349–354), uguagliasse in magnificenza Roma stessa (Lact. 7, 10) onde, a malgrado dei terremoti che la sconvolgevano (Lact. 7, 9), non solo vi aveva edificato quanto le necessità dello Stato richiedevano, ma anche eretto costruzioni di carattere semplicemente lussuoso. Tali dovevano essere i palazzi per la moglie e la figlia, le basiliche, il circo inaugurato [alla fine di novembre del] 304 (Lact. 7, 9 e 17, 4) (Vaglieri, *ibid.*, p. 1907). Non meno degni di ricordo sono i restauri eseguiti, di uno de' quali troviamo cenno in C. III 324.’

In this case the prefect who sent the letter must be Clodius Culcianus.

In P. Oxy. 2106 gold had to be raised as *aurum coronarium*,<sup>5</sup> as appears from the aim of the contribution and from the formulation of the letter.

<sup>1</sup> 20 ἴ. δέκα μυριάδων δηλαδή ὑπέ[ρ] ἐκάστης λίτρας ἀριθμουμένων τοῖς παρέχου[σιν] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου means that the *καθολικός* tried to give to everybody who wanted to change gold with denarii the possibility of doing it. It is not very probable that people were eager to change gold for denarii. I imagine they tried to pay denarii instead of gold and that the officials tried to collect as much gold as they could.

<sup>2</sup> PSI IV. 310 (A.D. 307), A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> Lact., *De mort. persecutorum* 7, 6: ‘Idem cum variis iniquitatibus inmensam faceret caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est. tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quidquam metu apparebat et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa multorum exitium solveretur.’

<sup>4</sup> Lact., *op. cit.*, 7, 4.

<sup>5</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Aurum Coronarium* (Kubitschek).

In P. Oxy. 2106 the ξένοι were exempted from paying if they did not have a permanent home (l. 18 ἐφέστιον = *domicilium*) in the town καὶ μηδέπω ἐπολιτεύσαντο εὐποροί τε ὄντ[ε]ς τυγχάνουσιν. Ξένος here means merely that they have their ἰδία (*origo*) outside Oxyrhynchos. From this statement we infer a *contrario* that everybody who was εὐπορος and had a *domicilium* in Oxyrhynchos and had been *curialis* had to pay the *aurum coronarium*.<sup>1</sup>

We can attempt to estimate the amount of the *aurum coronarium* Egypt had to pay. We can perhaps calculate it at about 1,000 pounds of gold, *i.e.*, a sum very roughly corresponding to the expenses for the transportation of all the Egyptian wheat from Alexandria to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

I assume that P. Oxy. 2106 was translated from a Latin edict<sup>3</sup> and very probably the edict was directed at least to the part of the empire under the rule of Diocletian.

<sup>1</sup> The translation by the Edd. of πολιτεύοντες as 'senators' is not right. See Cod. Theod. XII, 13, 2 (364). Here πολιτεύοντες means those who have been πολιτευόμενος *curialis*. I think this is the first occurrence of the word in papyri. P. Oxy. 2106 would be in harmony with Cod. Theod. XII, 13, 2 and XII, 13, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Nov. Just. Ed. XIII, 8. We calculate the number of the Egyptian nomes in the time of Diocletian at about 30 and consider the *Oxyrhynchites nomos* as an average *nomos* for its wealth. For the number of the nomes see Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens*, pp. 1 ff. I know that this calculation is very conjectural.

<sup>3</sup> More than the words that appear to have been originally Latin it is the construction of the phrases that gives the impression of a Latin original, and l. 27, μεθ' ἃ 'Ρωμαϊκά, at the end of the text.

## NEB-ḤEPET-RĒ<sup>c</sup> MENTU-ḤOTPE OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY


By H. E. WINLOCK

IN the long story of ancient Egypt—over half of all man's recorded history—there are many bright and clear centuries during which we are remarkably familiar with the Egyptian, but often there come murky, misty generations when we can scarcely make out what was going on in the Nile valley. One of these obscure periods immediately preceded the brilliant Twelfth Dynasty which began in 2000 B.C.

About the middle of the twenty-second century before Christ—I am tempted to anticipate myself a little and say in 2143 B.C.—the Count of Thebes revolted against the Pharaoh in Memphis, and three Intefs and a Mentu-hotpe followed each other as the rebel kings of Upper Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Immediately following the four now destroyed lines of the Turin Papyrus in which these four rulers appear to have been listed,<sup>2</sup> come the throne names of two more Mentu-hotpes—Neb-ḥepet-RĒ<sup>c</sup> and Sankh-ka-RĒ<sup>c</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Since their names appear in the Sakḥara and Abydos lists, they were obviously accepted as legitimate kings of both Upper and Lower Egypt. Furthermore, to later generations of Egyptians they constituted the whole Eleventh Dynasty, for immediately after them the Turin Papyrus gives the dynasty summary and then the Twelfth Dynasty.

However, over and above these six, we know the name of a seventh king who was undoubtedly of this general period in spite of the fact that he does not appear in the later royal lists. He was called 'Horus Neb-tawi, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neb-tawi-RĒ<sup>c</sup>, Son of RĒ<sup>c</sup> Mentu-hotpe' in a famous group of inscriptions in the granite quarries of the Wady Hammāmāt, which record in unusual detail the happenings which befell the royal expedition sent there in February and March of the king's second year.<sup>4</sup> They tell us nothing about the king himself except that he was born of the King's Mother Imi, who was surely not a king's wife. She may have been a royal concubine, or perhaps more likely she was the

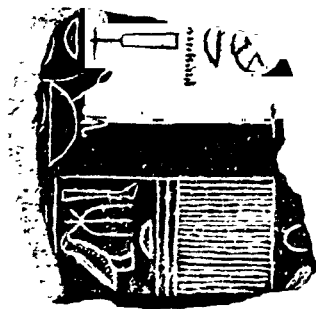
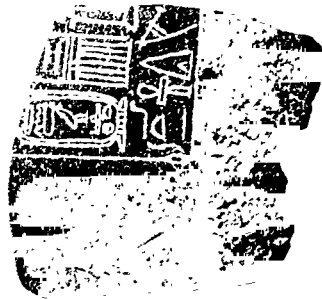
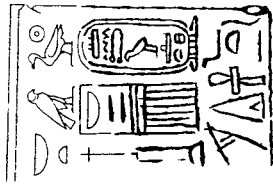
<sup>1</sup> The latest list of the first part of the dynasty is that in Vandier, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, 36 (1936), 101–8, where he publishes two blocks which later appeared in Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd, 1934 à 1936*, pp. 75–7. For the dates see below.

<sup>2</sup> Giulio Farina, *Il Papiro dei Rei* (1938), Col. 5<sup>a</sup>. His reconstructions of lines 12–15 are difficult to justify from the photograph of the papyrus. The names in lines 12–13 might begin (  ), with just the tips of the ducks' beaks surviving. Cf. Vandier's plate (last note) where the names of the early Intefs are so written. Deducting the 130 years of the remaining 4 kings and the 7 additional years given in the summary in line 18, from the total of 143 years for the whole dynasty, there are 6 years left for the reigns of both these kings together. Line 14 preserves nothing of value from the cartouche but does preserve a reign length of 49 years which can only be that of Horus Wah-ankh Intef. Nothing is left of the cartouche in line 15, but the reign length of [1]8 years suggests that in this line stood the name of Horus Sankh-ib-tawi Mentu-hotpe whose 14th year is known as the date of a rebellion in Thinis. See *BM Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, Pl. 53; Gardiner, *JEA* 1 (1914), 23.

<sup>3</sup> Farina, *loc. cit.*, lines 16–17. The lengths of their reigns are given as 51 and 12 years respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Couyat and Montet, *Hammāmāt*, Nos. 1, 40, 55, 105, 110, 113, 191, 192; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, §§ 434 ff.





FRAGMENT OF SLATE BOWL FROM LISHT


wife of a commoner, in which case Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ was not of the blood royal. The inscriptions do, however, name the leader of the expedition, the Vizir Amen-em-ḥēt, and one inscription is entirely devoted to a long list of the honours which had been showered on him. Beyond these meagre facts nothing else has, so far, been discovered of this reign.<sup>1</sup>

For this reason there has been little or no agreement where Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ should be placed in our histories. Of those who have written about this period, most—and I must count myself as one of this majority—have agreed that since Sꜥankh-ka-RĒꜥ was given in the ancient lists as the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty, Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ should be classed among his predecessors, his exact place being arbitrarily chosen by each writer.<sup>2</sup> A few others have called him the successor of Sꜥankh-ka-RĒꜥ,<sup>3</sup> apparently under the impression that his name had been in the line in the Turin Papyrus at the end of the dynasty, which we now know was entirely taken up by the dynasty summary.<sup>4</sup>

I think this puzzle is now solved by the only undoubtedly contemporary object to have survived from the reign of Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ other than the Hammāmāt inscriptions. It is a tiny fragment of a slate bowl found several years ago in the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Lisht.<sup>5</sup> The bowl was made for temple services, and inside it was engraved the Horus Name—Wehem-mesūt—of Amen-em-ḥēt I, at whose pyramid it had been used and where we found it. But it had not been made originally for Amen-em-ḥēt's temple. On the outside surface there had already been engraved, in a different and smaller hand: '[Horus Neb-]tawi, [Son of RĒꜥ] Mentu-ḥotpe, below [of Hathor the Lady of] Denderah, given life forever and ever.'

There is very small likelihood that an object of so little intrinsic value would have survived the twelve years of Sꜥankh-ka-RĒꜥ to be brought to Ithtowe, King Amen-em-ḥēt's new capital at Lisht, and naturally far less likelihood that it had already survived the fifty-one years of Neb-ḥepet-RĒꜥ. Therefore, this bowl must have been later than both of these Eleventh Dynasty rulers, and thus King Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ, its first owner, must have been among their successors. Further, the linking of the two names on it suggests that Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ was an immediate predecessor of Amen-em-ḥēt I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. This puts him in a sort of limbo between the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties—and, as I have said, he was omitted from the Turin Papyrus.

However, we are dealing with an obscure period, and it need not surprise us that we do not know more about Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ. We know even less about one of his contemporaries

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, 4. 8. stated that he had found the name of Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ at Dēr el-Baḥri. However, H. R. Hall, in a letter to Newberry written some twenty years ago, unreservedly stated that this was not the case and suggested that perhaps Naville had written from memory about a fragment in the British Museum inscribed , part of the titles of Neb-ḥepet RĒꜥ.

<sup>2</sup> The following have placed Neb-tawi-RĒꜥ before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty: Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 107. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 462. Breasted, *History* (all editions after 1905), 152, 598. Meyer, *Geschichte* (1913), § 277. Winlock, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, 32 (1915), 110–12. Petrie, *History* (1924), 134, 144. Vandier, *Bull. de l'Institut français*, 36 (1936), 105, and *Studia Aegyptiaca*, I (1938), 44 ff. Farina, *loc. cit.*, line 14. Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1938), 239.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, §§ 418, 434, and in the first (1905) edition of his *History*, 154, 598, but changed in later editions. Sethe, *Achtung feindlicher Fürsten* (1926), 23, placed him in the same position without, however, publishing his reasons. Sethe was followed by Polotsky, *Inschriften der XI. Dynastie*, 9, and Scharff, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikurē* (*Sitz. d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1936), 54.

<sup>4</sup> The matter is now made certain by Farina, *loc. cit.*, line 18, published since Ibscher's restoration of the papyrus. See p. 118, n. 2.

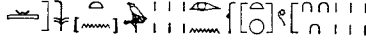
<sup>5</sup> Accession no. 09.180.543. It measures about 4 cm. square.

named on a fragment of a list of kings found a couple of years ago at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> Three names from this list survive: first, Neb-hepet-Rē; second, Sankh-ka-Rē—both written within cartouches; and third, following immediately, the Divine Father Sēn-Wosret, without a cartouche. Here we have the Eleventh Dynasty succeeded by a usurper who, it would seem, did not survive to be crowned. Our bowl fragment has already shown that the Twelfth Dynasty was preceded by another dubious personage who claimed to be a king during his lifetime, but whose name did not appear in later canons. And there may have been still other such contenders for the crown. The summary at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, as given in the Turin Papyrus, reads: 'Total 6 kings, making yea[rs] 1[36; plus] years 7; total 143'.<sup>2</sup> The 136 years are those of the six recognized sovereigns. The seven additional years were doubtless a period of anarchy when Sēn-wosret and Neb-tawi-Rē—with others of their ilk between them probably—struggled for the crown which Amen-em-hēt I finally won.

There is one point about the Hammāmāt inscriptions which seems to confirm this suggestion. In one of them Neb-tawi-Rē terms his second year 'The First Occurrence of the Sed Jubilee', a festival which in Greek times was called 'The Thirty Year Jubilee', whatever may have been the exact rules governing its recurrence.<sup>3</sup> According to the reconstruction of this period which I have just proposed, the Sed Jubilee of Neb-tawi-Rē would fall just before the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty—let us say in the last year of the seven years of anarchy at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. Add six years of those seven in the troubled period to twelve years—the known length of the reign of Sankh-ka-Rē—and twelve more years of the reign of Neb-hepet-Rē and we have not only the thirty-year period which Neb-tawi-Rē celebrated, but we have a picture of Neb-hepet-Rē himself celebrating the period which preceded it.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, I am inclined to suggest that the Jubilee period which Neb-hepet-Rē celebrated in his 39th Year started in his own 9th Year with the Union of the Two Lands.

The name of the last, the successful contestant for the throne, is surely the second of the two names on our small sherd. It has often been suggested—but with varying amounts of conviction—that the Vizir Amen-em-hēt succeeded Neb-tawi-Rē on the throne. That hypothesis may now be accepted unquestionably, I believe, on the evidence of this Lisht fragment. It is perhaps dangerous to take an Egyptian at his own valuation, and to accept literally the honours of which he himself boasts, but the sonorous list of titles which the Vizir Amen-em-hēt recorded in the Wady Hammāmāt shows that he was among the chief partisans of Neb-tawi-Rē in the latter's struggle for the throne. Once on the throne himself, Amen-em-hēt wrote—it must be admitted in an obviously exaggerated vein—a document which purported to be an extremely ancient prophecy.<sup>5</sup> In it was foretold how he was to save Egypt from those who were contending for the crown, which he himself was finally to

<sup>1</sup> Chevrier, *Annales du Service*, 38 (1938), 601.

<sup>2</sup> Using Farina's reconstruction of Col. 5<sup>a</sup>, line 18, and photographs which he kindly sent me some years ago, Dr. W. C. Hayes and I think we can see at the end of the dynasty . I owe to Hayes the suggestion that these seven years should all be counted as one period of anarchy at the end of the dynasty and none of them assigned to the beginning, as I was at first inclined to think.

<sup>3</sup> Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, 254 ff., quotes the existing literature on the subject. He, however, takes the 30 years as a round number representing about a generation.

<sup>4</sup> Winlock, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 57 (1940), 143, 147, 153, fig. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte* (1913), § 280; Gardiner, *JEA* 1 (1914), 100–6; Ranke in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte* (2nd edition, 1926), pp. 46–8. It was Sethe's contention that the texts he published in *Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten* belong to this period of Amen-em-hēt's accession.

win and which he was to place upon his own brow. He makes no claim to the crown on legitimist grounds. He admits his mother was a Nubian woman of no distinction—unless it was a distinction for her to have come from Hierakonpolis, the Upper Egyptian Horus town. Even his name shows that his family were southerners,<sup>1</sup> devoted to a provincial peasant god, Amūn, practically unheard of as yet but destined to be raised to the top of the Egyptian pantheon by Amen-em-ḥēt and his descendants.

Amen-em-ḥēt I became a great king, but, perhaps because of his own dubious past, he never seems to have won the complete loyalty of the Egyptians. In a second literary composition he describes how one night in the earlier part of his reign, before his twentieth year when he made his son S'en-Wosret co-regent, assassins came to murder him in his sleep and he barely escaped with his life.<sup>2</sup> When he actually did die the court was torn by that obscure palace conspiracy which is hinted at in the opening lines of the 'Story of Sinūhe', and which S'en-Wosret rushed home to quell.<sup>3</sup>

The facts which I have just skimmed over lightly permit the construction of a canon of the Eleventh Dynasty as follows:

### Eleventh Dynasty

#### *Kings of Upper Egypt only*

|  | <i>Years</i> | <i>Dates B.C.</i> |
|--|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Seher-tawi Intef . . . . .                        | [?3]         | 2143–2140         |
| 2. Wah-ankh Intef <sup>4</sup> . . . . .             | 49           | 2140–2091         |
| 3. Nekht-neb-tep-nefer Intef . . . . .               | [?3]         | 2091–2088         |
| 4. S'ankh-ib-tawi Mentu-ḥotpe <sup>5</sup> . . . . . | 1]8          | 2088–2070         |
| 5. Neb-ḥepet-Rēꜥ Mentu-ḥotpe . . . . . 9 years?      | <sup>6</sup> | 2070–2061         |

#### *Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt*

|  |     |           |
|--|-----|-----------|
| 5. Neb-ḥepet-Rēꜥ Mentu-ḥotpe . . . . . 42 years?   | 51  | 2061–2019 |
| 6. S'ankh-ka-Rēꜥ Mentu-ḥotpe . . . . .   | 12  | 2019–2007 |
| Total years in the reigns of 6 kings   | 136 |           |
| Years of anarchy in which S'en-Wosret, probably other pretenders,<br>Neb-tawi-Rēꜥ Mentu-ḥotpe, and finally Amen-em-ḥēt struggled for the<br>throne . . . . . | 7   | 2007–2000 |
| Total years from the beginning of the XI to the beginning of the XII Dyn.  | 143 |           |

<sup>1</sup> The name of Amen-em-ḥēt was borne by a man who died in Thebes 90 years before this time, in the reign of Nekht-neb-tep-nefer Intef. His grave stela is MMA 14.2.6.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Instructions of Amenemhet to his Son' in Erman-Blackman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Erman-Blackman, *op. cit.*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> His year total in the Turin Papyrus is on the line below, but Vandier has shown from an Eleventh Dynasty monument that he belongs immediately after Seher-tawi. His position in regard to the two succeeding kings is fixed by contemporary stelae. See *BM Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1, 53; Gauthier, *Bull. de l'Institut français*, 5 (1905), 39; and Sethe, *ZÄS* 1905, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> For the restoration of the reign length see p. 116, n. 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> See the suggestion on page 118 above. It would have been in this period that his name was written.



## EGYPTIAN ASTRONOMY

By HERBERT CHATLEY

WHEN the 'zodiacs' of Denderah, Esneh, and Edfu (*Description de l'Égypte*, Antiquités, I, Pls. 58, 79, and 87, and IV, Pls. 18–21) were discovered by Napoleon's savants, great hopes were held that a means had been found by which the heavens of the ancient Egyptians could be reconstructed. These 'zodiacs' were believed to be much older than they actually are and it was in particular assumed that the circular 'zodiac' of Denderah was a carefully drawn planisphere covering the whole of the Egyptian sky. J. B. Biot (*Recherches sur plusieurs points de l'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris, 1823, Pl. 2) was misled in this way and identified a large number of points in the planisphere to his own satisfaction, and numerous other students wrote on the matter at great length.

The discovery by Belzoni of the tomb of Seti I with its astronomical ceiling and the resemblance of that ceiling to those of the Ramesseum (Lepsius, *Dkm.* VI, Pls. 137, 170–1) and the temple at Madīnat Habu (Daressy, *Ruines de Medinet Habu*, 155) raised many new problems. The matter was further complicated by the group of star figures associated with the hour tables recorded by Lepsius (*Dkm.* VII, Pls. 227–8) in the tombs of Ramesses VI, VII, and IX, in which tombs also further copies appear of the 'celestial diagram' (Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, 5, 21, 49, 62).

Attempts were made by Romieu (*ZÄS* 6, 135; 7, 17, 34), J. B. Biot (*Mém. Acad. Sci.* 24, 265, 549), Gensler (*Die thebanischen Tafeln stündlicher Sternaufgänge*, Leipzig, 1872, 1 ff.), Renouf (*PSBA* 3, pt. II, 400 and 421), Lauth (*Les Zodiaques de Denderah*, Munich, 1865, 6), Sharpe (*History of Egypt*, London, 1876, 87), Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, I, Leipzig, 1883, 185 and *Ägyptologie*, Leipzig, 1889, 340), Bilfinger (*Die Sterntafeln in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Biban el Moluk*, Stuttgart, 1891, 1 ff.) and Mahler (*ZÄS* 32, 99) to arrive at consistent identifications of the various figures but without much success. Even the thirty-six dekans, or ten-day stars, proved almost unidentifiable in spite of the unquestionable inclusion amongst them of Sirius (*spdt*) and Orion (*śḥ*).

Further steps were taken by the recognition by Maspero (*Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, *Rec. Trav.* 5, 8, 169 and 7, 150) and Sethe (*Die altägypt. Pyramidentexte*, I, 458, II, 959, 1456) of references to the Ox-leg (Ursa Major), Sirius, Orion, and other star groups in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty Pyramid texts and in Daressy's discovery (*Ann. Serv.* 1, 79–90) of dekanal lists associated with hour tables on the Tenth Dynasty coffins from Asiut.

Several more copies of the 'celestial diagram' were discovered, two, Senmut (*Bull. MMA* 23, No. 2, Suppt.) and the Karnak clepsydra, Daressy (*Bull. Inst. Ég.*, 5th Ser., 9, 5–16) of the Eighteenth Dynasty, practically complete, and the fragments of one of the Eleventh Dynasty from Asiut (coffin of Heny, Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 26, 171). There are now almost twenty copies of this diagram from the Eleventh Dynasty down to Roman times, the later ones of notable importance being those of Prince Nechtanebo (Berlin Museum), coffin of *Her-ned-tef* (British Museum No. 6678), and two Ptolemaic ceilings at Atfih (Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 3, 121). There can be no doubt that this form is a definite standard with which all others, whether star-hour tables, figures of the Goddess of Heaven, Graeco-Roman zodiacs, or tables of dekans, should be compared.

The normal form of this diagram is shown in the external decoration of the Karnak clepsydra (Amenophis III), of which there is a replica in the Time Section of the Science Museum, London. (Chatley, *Observatory*, 63, 68.)

This diagram consists of three registers. Reading from the right to the left, the contents are as follows:

First register: The thirty-six dekans with specially marked groups and a kind of star map of the equatorial-ecliptic band, Sirius, the superior planets, the meta-dekans, and the two inferior planets. Notes as to deities associated with each.

Second register: the eight children of Horus, the central star figures clustered about the Ox-leg, and the seven stellar genii.

Third register: The twelve months, starting with the seventh so that the first is in the middle under Sirius and marked by a cynocephalus.

The first register generally includes prayers for the Pharaoh and the second or third register may also contain similar prayers. In this instance (as in some others) the Pharaoh is shown worshipping the gods of the months.

Pogo (*Isis*, 14, 300; 17, 6) has given much thought to the analysis of the diagram.

C. A. Wainwright (*Orion and the Great Star*, *JEA* 22, pt. 1, 45; *A pair of Constellations*, *Griffith Studies*, 280) has drawn attention to certain particular features and has identified one of the central figures (*dw inw*) with Cygnus.

A good description of the general position of Egyptian Astronomy is given in the first chapter of Zinner's *Geschichte der Sternkunde* (Leipzig, 1931).

It is the object of the present notes to indicate some general conclusions as to the various figures.

### The Constellations

*Dekanal constellations* (not individual dekans). There are about twenty-four constellations, several of which extend over two, three, or even five of the individual dekans.

*Horary constellations* (tombs of Ramesses VI, VII, and IX). These are fourteen in number, two of which are very large, extending over four to seven hours of right ascension. At least four of these are identical with dekanal constellations, leaving ten not so describable.

*Central constellations*. These are seven in number, of which two or three are probably identical with horary constellations, leaving, say, four of a unique character.

This makes a net total of thirty-eight, to which a few must be added for the star groups south of the dekanal belt. These are quite possibly the five or six 'meta-dekans', making a total of, say, forty-four.

In comparison with this number, it may be noted that the two Denderah 'zodiacs' each have about twenty constellation figures, if we exclude the Greek zodiacal signs, the planets, the hour-goddesses, and the dekans. The two zodiacs agree as to these figures with the exception of two or three items. Adding these twenty to the twenty-four dekanal constellations we again have a total of about forty-four.

Ptolemy in his *Almagest* (Manitius' translation, vol. 2, p. 29) has forty-eight constellations and although these are Greek or Babylonian in origin, the total number may have been the same in Egypt.

The round 'zodiac' of Denderah (Champollion, *Mon.* 4, Pl. 349; *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiq. iv, Pl. 20-1; Daressy, *Bull. Inst. Fr.* 12, 34) undoubtedly includes many Egyptian features as well as the obviously Greek ones. For our purpose the latter should be severely

neglected except in so far as they indicate the relative position of the Egyptian figures. A difficulty occurs inasmuch as the dekanal figures are shown surrounding the periphery whereas it is an essential feature of the dekans that they correspond broadly to the band, say 60 degrees wide, which includes the equator and ecliptic. The ecliptic is roughly indicated by the positions of the Greek signs of the zodiac and there are on the 'zodiac' some nine large figures (including Sirius and Orion) outside the Greek signs. In view of the fact that in Egypt a very large fraction of the whole sky is visible and there are many stars south of the dekanal band, it must be presumed that these figures (excluding Sirius, Orion, the Hawk-Sceptre which is apparently fiducial, and a disk which is solar or lunar), refer to star groups *south* of the dekans, in spite of the fact that the dekans are shown symbolically and by hieroglyphs round the periphery. In other words the dekanal circle at Denderah must be regarded as a kind of graduation of the circle rather than as an indicator of the positions of the dekanal constellations. This is confirmed by the unequal spacing of the dekanal symbols which corresponds roughly to the unequal intervals of 'right ascension' consequent upon the use of the changing interval between ten-day dawns, combined with the use of stars of unequal 'magnitude'. The distortion of a planisphere which attempts to show the whole heavens down to 60 degrees south 'declination' is enormous in any case and the object of the draughtsman doubtless was to represent the Powers of Heaven rather than to give a map for survey purposes. Daressy in his paper *L'Égypte céleste* (*Bull. Inst. Ég.* 12, 1) has endeavoured to show that this chart represents the nomes, &c., of Egypt, as a terrestrial parallel to the heavens. This would be quite in accordance with the hypotheses of Greek astrology, but, if true, is simply an addition to the fundamental ideas of the celestial diagram, and may serve to explain some of the divergencies.

Using these assumptions, the Denderah 'zodiacs' may be compared with the 'celestial diagram' with moderately consistent results, as shown below.

### The Northern or Central Stars

Inside the ring of the Greek signs of the zodiac on the round Denderah ceiling (disregarding the five planets and a solar bark which either represents the sun or is an allusion to the solar bark of Dekan No. 15, *hr-ib-wr*) there are seven figures and a cynocephalus. The latter appears to be a marker for the spring equinox, just as in the celestial diagram it appears sometimes as a marker for the beginning of the Egyptian year. In the rectangular zodiac of Denderah these can all be found, with one ambiguity.

There can be little doubt that these seven are broadly equivalent to the seven figures of the central group of the celestial diagram. In the tombs of Ramesses VI, VII, and IX (Lefébure, *Hypogées royales*, *M. Miss. Arch. Fr.* 3, pp. 5, 21, 49) these figures are shown facing right as well as left. This change probably alludes to a shift of twelve hours of right ascension although the arrangement of the figures has been subordinated to artistic symmetry. In the alternative the Ox-leg is shown as a complete bull (compare the diagram of Seti I, *Leps.*, *Dkm*, Pl. 137, or *Bull. MMA* 18, 283) and the hippopotamus has a crocodile on her back whereas the one facing leftwards has not. The scorpion goddess is shifted about in a rather perplexing manner. Similarly in the Ptolemaic tombs at Atfih (Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 3, 160-80) these figures are shifted round at right angles but not wholly consistently. These are all indications that little stress may be placed on the exact relative positions of the figures when comparing them with the stars.

The following table is an attempt to correlate all the seven, following the order of the figures from the rectangular zodiac of Denderah (Brugsch, *Thes.* 1, 5):

| <i>Celestial Diagram</i>  | <i>Rectangular zodiac of Denderah (order that of the signs of zodiac)</i> | <i>Probable star groups corresponding</i>                   | <i>Remarks</i>   |
|---|---|---|--|
| <i>Dwꜣ Inw</i> , Hawk god with cord to Ox-leg<br><i>Mšhtjw</i> , Ox-leg and Chain   | Horus, fighter of demons, with spear<br>Ox-leg                            | Cygnus (Wainwright)<br>(Ursa Major; Septentriones)          | Missing from round zodiac  |
| <i>Hsꜣmwt</i> , Hippo-goddess connected to Ox-leg<br><i>Srsꜣ</i> , a crocodile with a god, sometimes with a spear or rope | Hippo-goddess<br>God with knife and antelope                              | Bootes, Hercules, Lyra, and Draco<br>Cassiopeia and Perseus | <i>Rrt</i> , in the Horary constellation<br><i>Nht</i> , in the Horary groups? |
|   | Headless man  | Cepheus?  | A headless animal on round zodiac  |
| <i>Im</i> , a lion  | God with feather head-dress, holding cobra                                | Auriga?   |  |
|   | Jackal on hoe   | Ursa Minor  |  |
| <i>Srkt</i> , the Scorpion goddess  |   | Coma Berenice?  |  |

### The Extreme Southern Stars

The next table is an attempt to correlate the various groups on the Denderah zodiacs with actual star groups occupying analogous positions in the actual sky, the horary star groups of the Ramesside hour tables (Leps., *Dkm.* vii, 227-8) and also the meta-dekans. The subject of the meta-dekans is discussed in more detail later. The horary groups include all except the Lute Bearer, *Mnjt*, *Rrt* the Hippopotamus and *Nht* the Giant, which are, I think, north of the ecliptic. The latter two are included in the above table of Northern Stars and all four can be related in right ascension to the dekans.

| <i>Denderah zodiacs</i>                                  | <i>Approximate star groups</i> | <i>Horary star groups</i>  | <i>Meta-dekans</i>              |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Lion-headed goddess with sceptre                         | Cetus                          | Goose                      |                                 |
| Goddess  | Eridanus                       | <i>Hꜣw</i> and <i>ꜣrjt</i> |                                 |
| Orion ( <i>Sꜣh</i> )                                     | Orion                          | Orion                      |                                 |
| <i>Spdt</i> Cow in bark                                  | Sirius and Canis Major         | <i>Spdt</i> and Train      |                                 |
| Goddess with bow and arrow ( <i>Sꜣtt</i> )               | (Delta and Eta Canis majoris?) | Two stars                  | <i>Štjw</i> , the two tortoises |
| Goddess with water vessels ( <i>Inkt</i> )               | Hydra                          | Waters                     | <i>Nsꜣw</i>                     |
| Goddess with child (Snake in Pool; rectang. zodiac only) | Centaurus                      |                            | <i>Šspt</i>                     |
| Bull-head god and hoe                                    |                                |                            | <i>Ibs</i> or <i>Ipsꜣ</i>       |
| Lion and Pool  | Lupus                          | Lion                       | <i>Sbšs</i> or <i>Inp</i>       |
| Man-headed hippo   | Scorpio                        | Many stars                 | <i>Ntr Wšš</i>                  |

### The Dekanal Band

Much difficulty has arisen from the variations in the dekanal lists, of which there are now over thirty examples from the Tenth Dynasty (Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 1, 79) down to Roman times, quite apart from the late examples up to the present day. (See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*, Hamburg, 1936, on the whole subject.) Some Egyptologists do not seem to have recognized that there is actually a wide choice in selecting dekanal stars, since the stars only have to satisfy the condition that they rise at dawn in the east so many tens of

days after the similar rising of Sirius. Sirius rises appreciably south of the east point and it may reasonably be supposed that any fairly conspicuous star which rises not much farther south (or north) of due east than Sirius does would be acceptable. If the constellations were sufficiently extensive, two different observers could easily choose two different stars for the same dawn or different stars from the same constellation for two or three dekans. Adding to this source of ambiguity the variations in the mean time of dawn during the year which make the intervals of 'oblique ascension' very unequal, the difference in the position of the sun below the horizon at which stars of different magnitude remain visible, and the secular twist of stars relative to the celestial equator due to precession and it will readily be seen how inconsistencies in the lists could occur. Further anomalies would appear when it was attempted to reconcile transits of the stars with their oblique ascensions. The oblique ascension of a star is the right ascension of the east point that rises with it.

The following list of dekanal constellations (*not* dekans) shows which dekans they referred to, and gives the horary groups to which they approximately correspond in right ascension and the Greek constellations with which they may be roughly associated.

| <i>Dekanal constellation</i> | <i>Dekans</i>          | <i>Greek constellations</i> | <i>Horary groups in similar R. A.</i> |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Knmut</i>                 | 1, 2, and 3            | Canis Major and Cancer      | Two stars                             |
| <i>Dst</i>                   | 4 and 5                | Leo                         | Waters                                |
| <i>Tmt</i>                   | 6 and 7                | Virgo                       | Lion                                  |
| <i>Wsst</i>                  | 8                      | "                           | "                                     |
| <i>Bkstj</i>                 | 9                      | Virgo and Libra             | Many Stars                            |
| <i>Ipss</i>                  | 10                     | Libra                       | Lutebearer                            |
| <i>Sbssn</i>                 | 10 and 11              | "                           | <i>Mnjt</i>                           |
| <i>Hntt</i>                  | 11, 12, and 13         | Scorpio                     | "                                     |
| <i>Hnnw</i> , the fishes     | 14                     | "                           | <i>Rrt</i> the Hippo                  |
| <i>Hr-ib-ws</i> , the ship   | 13, 14, and 15         | "                           | "                                     |
| <i>Ssmw</i>                  | 15 and 16              | Sagittarius                 | "                                     |
| <i>Kmnw</i>                  | 17                     | "                           | "                                     |
| <i>Smd</i>                   | 18 and 19              | Capricornus and Aquila      | "                                     |
| <i>Srt</i> , the ram         | 20, 21, and 22         | "                           | <i>Nht</i> , the Giant                |
| <i>Ishw</i>                  | 21, 22, and 23         | Aquarius                    | "                                     |
| <i>Bsjw</i>                  | 23, 24, and 25         | Pisces                      | "                                     |
| <i>Hntt</i> (II)             | 26, 27, and 28         | Aries                       | <i>Srjt</i>                           |
| <i>Kd</i>                    | 28, 29, and 30         | Taurus                      | Goose                                 |
| <i>rt</i>                    | 30, 31, and 32         | "                           | Goose and <i>Hsw</i>                  |
| <i>Hsw</i>                   | 30 and 31              | "                           | <i>rjt</i>                            |
| <i>Sh</i> (Orion)            | 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 | Gemini and Orion            | <i>Sh</i>                             |
| <i>Spdt</i>                  | 34, 35, 36, and 1      | Canis Major and Cancer      | <i>Spdt</i>                           |

Two or three rare forms have been omitted, only twenty-two being here given. *Hntt* II does not appear in the old Tenth Dynasty lists but there is an hiatus there. This group includes the remarkable sub-group *Hst*, the Body of Heaven. This has often been identified (*e.g.*, by Pogo, *Isis*, 14, 321) with the Pleiades, but as it may lie as much as nine dekans behind Sirius and the direct celestial arc from Sirius to the Pleiades is less than 60 degrees there is some doubt about this. This group appears to be referred to in the pyramid texts (*Rec. Trav.* 5, 169). Lauth (*Zod. Denderah*, 2) identified the middle of *Knwt* with the Pleiades, but this is quite impossible, since the Pleiades rise before Sirius does.

On the ceiling of Senmut (Pogo, *Isis*, 14, 321) the stars shown trailing to the right of *Srt* the Ram seem to indicate the Milky Way. The first sixteen dekans form the half circuit

if reckoned by oblique ascensions but there is some confusion doubtless due to the fact that equal division would make the number eighteen.

### The Meta-Dekans

In all the complete copies of the celestial diagram there are certain names (five, six, or nine in the sarcophagus of Nechtanebo, see Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*, Pl. 6) between the superior planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars and the inferior planets Mercury and Venus which so far no one has clearly identified. Brugsch (*Thes.* I, 137 ff.), followed by Budge in his dictionary, suggests that they are the individual stars of the main group in Orion, but as Orion is very adequately represented in Dekans 32 to 35, this seems improbable. Since they are associated with the dekans and planets they are probably southerly in declination and it seems to the author very probable that they are, as already indicated, the sub-dekanal constellations visible in the south during the winter nights (Hydra, Centaurus, Lupus, &c.).

Disregarding the case of Nechtanebo (where the insertions seem special) there are variations in the older lists as regards Nos. 4, 5, and 6. In the Karnak clepsydra, the Ramesseum, and the coffin of *Hr-nḏ-tf*, the fourth is called *Tbs* and the fifth *Inp*. In Senmut there are only five, the fourth being *Tbss* and the fifth *Ntr wš*. In Seti I there are six, the fourth being *Ipsḏ*, the fifth *Sbssn*, and the sixth *Ntr wš*.

In the later dekanal lists *Štjw* (the first meta-dekan) is associated with the head of *Knwt* (the first dekan) and there are dekanal names *Ipst* (Greek Aphoso) and *Sbssn* (Sebchos) for dekans 8, 9, or 10, which seem to agree with meta-dekans Nos. 4 or 5.

We may then deduce that these constellations parallel the first part of the dekanal band and extend over about 120 degrees succedent to Sirius. This is just the position of the sub-ecliptic stars which are visible in the south (in Egypt) during the first half of the Gregorian year or in the middle of the so-called Sothic year.

### The Attendants to the Central Stars

The celestial diagram shows usually seven figures on the left and eight on the right. The latter are the eight children of Horus, led by *Imstj*. In some cases Isis appears before them or her figure may be substituted for that of *Imstj*. Wainwright (*Griffith Studies*, 381) suggests that they represent the seven stars of *Mšhtjw*, the Great Bear, and adduces several texts in support of this argument. It seems to the author that these texts refer simply to the position of these beings *in the diagram*. The number is normally eight, not seven. The four sons of Horus are otherwise associated with the four quarters and it may be that there is a reference here to worship from all quarters of Heaven.

The seven on the left are still less intelligible. Their names are used in some instances for certain days of the month, so that it may be that the fundamental idea is that of worship at all times. Borchardt (*Altägypt. Zeitmess.*, 58, &c.) suggests that they refer to the seven days of the planetary week, but this is almost impossible.

The author's impression is that these are purely theological features without any astronomical significance.

### The Planets

Brugsch (*Thes.* I, 63 and *Ägyptologie*, 335) identified these by means of the Stobart tables, the Denderah zodiacs, and the references in the celestial diagram to their motion. The title *Dj*, Wanderer, is applied freely to Saturn (Bull of Heaven), Mars (*Hr-iḥwtj*), and Venus (*Bnw ʿsjr*) but scarcely ever to Jupiter (*Hr-wp-štw*) and never to Mercury (*Sbg*).

The term 'Star of the South of Heaven' is generally applied to Jupiter, but this would agree with Canopus, which is seen low down when Sirius transits. Nevertheless the analogy with Saturn and Mars (all Horus gods in boats) makes the identity with Jupiter practically certain. Saturn may be in the east (Senmut and *Hr-nd-tf* and Ramesseum) or in the west (Seti I). Mars may be in the east (Seti), the west (Ramesseum), or missing (Senmut, Karnak clepsydra, and *Hr-nd-tf*) which last Pogo (*Isis*, 14, 321) argues as showing the conditions when Mars is too close to the sun to be seen. In three or four cases Mars is referred to as retrograde.

### The Months

The arrangement of the months is practically stereotyped, although Senmut shows an interesting variation, which Pogo (*Isis*, 14, 321) thinks is an unfinished table of stellar hours, like those of the Asiut coffins. Apart from the positions of the planets, which are vague, there is no real indication of date, although Mahler (*ZAS* 27, 97; 28, 33; 32, 99) has made gallant attempts to show that the diagrams are horoscopes. The fact that the first month is in the middle under Sirius seems to show that the whole thing is a conventional arrangement. Doubtless the positions of the planets do refer to some particular epoch and in that sense there is a horoscopic suggestion, but no dates can possibly be derived from that fact alone. The precessional changes of the dekans with respect to Sirius in a Sothic year are too small to permit calculation from the data. Lastly since the first of the first month is associated definitely with the rising of Sirius, no precessional date can be indicated except that of a Sothic era (if there ever was such a thing recognized in early days) and this is quite excluded by the identity of the Karnak clepsydra in this respect with the Madinat Habu ceiling, which are separated in time by some 300 years or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  sothic months.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some general notes on the whole subject are given by the author in *Note on Ancient Egyptian Astronomy, Observatory*, 62, 100.

# 'THE TEMPLE', $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ , AS AN ABBREVIATED NAME FOR THE TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

THE word  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  *hut*, which originally designated fortified castle-like towns as opposed to the open settlements called  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  *nḥt*, was used in the New Kingdom with the meaning 'temple'. The general word for temple was at that time, as previously,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  *hut-ntr*, and *hut* followed by a royal name is used for various temples erected by the kings. While in such case the king's *nomen* is chosen for the old historic temples throughout Egypt, the king's *prenomen* invariably serves to form the names of the royal mortuary temples on the western side of Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Thus  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  with various additions like  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'in the house of Ptah',  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'in the house of Min',  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'in the house of Thoth', etc., designates the temples founded by Ramesses III in Memphis, Panopolis, and Hermopolis respectively,<sup>2</sup> but the *prenomen* of this king, *viz.* Usimaṛēc-miamūn enters only into the name of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'the temple of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimaṛēc-miamūn in the house of Amūn'.<sup>3</sup> The whole expression,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  + royal name, thus designates a particular object, unique of its kind, and is always preceded by the definite article  $\text{𓂏}$ .

Often enough, however,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  is found alone with no royal name following it, and late Ramesside papyri, especially those belonging to the Tomb Robberies group,<sup>4</sup> abound in examples of this use. Here the questions arise, (1) whether  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  refers in each case to a different building which either must be identified from the context or else is quite simply the temple of the reigning Pharaoh, or (2) whether 'the temple' meant is always the same, in other words whether  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'the (mortuary) Temple' had become the name of a specific building, *the* '(mortuary) temple' *par excellence*, so that the following royal name could be dispensed with.

An investigation into the problem reveals that there are really cases, relatively rare, where *ḥut* is only an abbreviation of the name of the temple previously quoted in full; e.g. *Harris*, 31, 4, where it stands for  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'the temple of Ramesses-Ruler-of-On, L.P.H. in the house of Rē' (in Heliopolis) spoken of in the preceding line, and similarly *Harris*, 51, a, 7, where it refers to  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$  'the temple of Ramesses-Ruler-of-On, L.P.H. in the house of Ptah' (in Memphis), listed

<sup>1</sup> Also that of the temple of Seti I at Abydos,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ , for which see Griffith, in *Journal*, 13, 205-6.



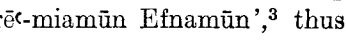


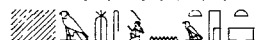
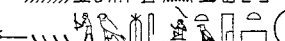
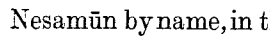
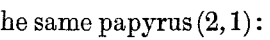
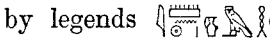
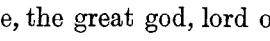
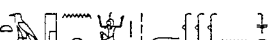
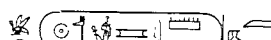
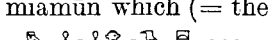
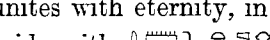
<sup>2</sup> Cf. the examples listed by Piehl, *Dict. du pap. Harris*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Harris*, 10, 3; 12, a, 1. While speaking on this point in *Journal* 15, 195, notes 6 and 7, I did not notice that the apparent exceptions contained the word  $\text{𓂏}$ , not  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ , and were not mortuary temples at all. The only real exception which remains is 'the temple of Sety' (*loc. cit.*, p. 196, n. 1), occurring, however, which I did not know then, as early as the first half of the Twentieth Dynasty.


<sup>4</sup> Published by Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Oxford, 1930.



only four lines before, *Harris*, 51, a, 3. This use has of course nothing unnatural, and any other object would be referred to in a similar way in complete accordance with grammatical custom.

On the other hand there are a number of cases where the situation is different. Thus in a list of persons a certain  'boat's captain of the temple Efnamūn'<sup>1</sup> is named, and here the identity of the 'temple' cannot be guessed at from the context, since there is none. It would, therefore, in itself be possible to take the 'temple' as the mortuary temple of the king reigning at the time when the text was written, namely Ramesses IX.<sup>2</sup> But this possibility can fortunately also be discarded by comparison with a passage where the same person is more fully described as  (⊙  'boat's captain of the temple of Usimaṛēc-miamūn Efnamūn',<sup>3</sup> thus suggesting that  in the first passage means Medinet Habu; and the same surprising result is obtained whenever we are able to control by other means the identity of .<sup>4</sup> In a list of persons who received stolen property from a workman Amenhotpe, son of Pentoëre, we meet a ,<sup>5</sup> while the duplicate of the same list<sup>6</sup> quotes the same man as  'the baker Harmose of the temple of Usimaṛēc-miamūn'. In *Pap. Leopold II*, 3, 10, a 'carpenter of the temple of Usimaṛēc-miamūn' is under the authority of a 'second priest of Amonrasōnthēr and *sem*-priest of the Temple in the house of Amūn',<sup>7</sup> where 'the Temple' clearly must be that of Medinet Habu, judging both from the context and from the fuller description of the man, Nesamūn by name, in the same papyrus (2, 1):  (⊙ ).<sup>8</sup> On the mummy of Ramesses III a piece of linen was found<sup>9</sup> showing the god Amūn on the throne accompanied by legends  'Amen-rēc uniting with eternity, within the Temple, the great god, lord of heaven' and  'Amūn uniting with eternity, within the Temple', and here too 'the Temple' *par excellence* points to Medinet Habu, since 'Amūn uniting with eternity' and 'Amen-rēc uniting with eternity' are precisely the name of the Amūn and the Amen-rēc of Medinet Habu,<sup>10</sup> which is sometimes called  (⊙ )<sup>11</sup> 'the temple of millions of years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimaṛēc-miamūn which (= the temple) unites with eternity, in the house of Amūn'. Again,  occurs side by side with  on another fragment found in the coffin of the Queen Nefertari,<sup>12</sup> and finally 'Amūn uniting with eternity' occurs in a fragmentary Twentieth Dynasty letter in the Brooklyn Museum (Access. No. 37.903 L), to

<sup>1</sup> *Pap. B.M. 10053*, 1, 18, publ. Peet, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Like  'the (King's) tomb', i.e. the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh.

<sup>3</sup> *Pap. B.M. 10053*, 3, 17 (= Peet, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvi).

<sup>4</sup> Peet in *Journal*, 11, 58 arrives at the wrong conclusion that *t; hut* 'is used as an abbreviation for the temple which is under discussion at the time'.

<sup>5</sup> Botti-Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, Pl. 19, 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Pap. B.M. 10053*, 4, 2 (= Peet, *op. cit.*, Pl. xviii).

<sup>7</sup> *Journal*, 22, Pls. xiv-xv.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. xii.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero, *Momies royales*, 564-5.

<sup>10</sup> *Harris*, 4, 6 (in a description of Medinet Habu extending from 3, 11 to 5, 3). Cf. also Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du temps des rois prêtres*, p. 30.


<sup>11</sup> Nelson and others, *Med. Habu*, III, Pl. 140, ll. 55-6; sim. Pl. 136, l. 23; Pl. 146, l. 219; Pl. 148, l. 293 (the last two with *hh m nput* omitted).

<sup>12</sup> Maspero, *Momies royales*, 565.

which Dr. Gardiner has kindly drawn my attention. As this is perhaps the most suitable opportunity to publish the fragment in question, the author may be excused for interrupting his argument to give a transcript made from a photograph:

(1) entirely lost


[illegible][illegible]

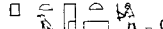
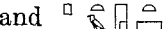

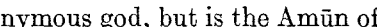
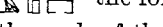

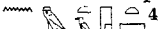
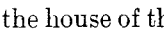
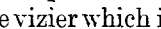
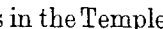
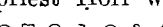
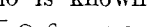
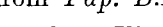
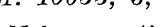
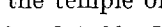
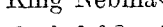
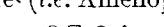
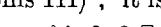

(4) 

[illegible]

(6) [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

- (1) '[A (says) to B, an employee of the temple of Usimaꜥrꜥ-]
- (2) miamūn in the house of Amūn (on) the West of Thebes: In life, prosperity, and health, (in) the favour
- (3) (of) Amonrasōnthēr! To this effect: I say every day to Amūn uniting with eternity
- (4) (and) to every god and every goddess who rests in the Temple that they may
- (5) give thee life, that they may give thee health, that they may give thee youth
- (6) and (he) says: When my [letter reaches thee, etc.].'

From all these instances it can be safely concluded that  is used for the name of the temple of Medinet Habu, and this deduction when applied to other examples not obvious in themselves results sometimes in interesting information.

Thus in the frequent proper names  (= 'he of the Temple is victorious') and  (= 'he of the Temple is vigilant'), as well as in the rare personal name  (= 'he within the Temple is victorious')<sup>1</sup> it now appears that 'he of the Temple' or 'he within the Temple' is not an anonymous god, but is the Amūn of Medīnet Habu. When we read in *Pap. Mayer* A 6, 14, that   'the foreigners came and seized the Temple', some time in the second half, or towards the end, of the Twentieth Dynasty, we may now be sure that the temple in question was that of Medīnet Habu,<sup>2</sup> and this information agrees well with the traces of devastation found by Prof. Hölscher.<sup>3</sup> And anyone who wonders where the house of the vizier of the time may have been situated finds a precise answer in *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10383, 1, 6, which mentions      <sup>4</sup> 'the house of the vizier which is in the Temple', presumably in the vicinity of the royal palace within the temple enclosure. And if of a *sem*-priest Hōri who is known from *Pap. B.M.* 10053, 3, 5 to have been *sem*-priest of     <sup>5</sup> 'the temple of King Nebmaṣrē (i.e. Amenophis III)',<sup>5</sup> it is said in another document<sup>6</sup> that      'The

<sup>1</sup> Twice in the unpublished Theban graffito No. 1261.

<sup>2</sup> Peet in *Journal*, 12, 256, in commenting on the passage, thought the identification probable. So, too, Holscher in the publication quoted in the next note.

<sup>3</sup> *Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Communication No. 18, p. 100.*

<sup>4</sup> Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, Pl. xxii. Peet's alternative explanation in the Text, p. 127, note 5, is very unlikely, as *Tity* as a proper name is extremely rare.  $\frac{\text{𓂏}}{\text{𓂏}}$  means 'house' in Late Egyptian, not 'room' as given in his translation.

<sup>5</sup> Peet, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii; cf. also *Pap. B.M. 10053*, 2, 10 and 3, 19 (= Peet, Pl. xvii).

<sup>6</sup> *Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 10383, 1, 10–11 (= Peet, Pl. xxii).



## THE TOMB OF AMENMOSĚ (No. 89) AT THEBES

BY NINA M. AND N. DE G. DAVIES<sup>1</sup>

TOMB 89, situated near the summit of the hill of Sheikh 'Abd el-Kurnah at its southern end, is not very attractive, being in part unfinished and, for the most part, painted in somewhat coarse style. In addition nearly every figure of the owner and of his relations was cut out as a personal affront, and the whole tomb was so effectively burnt that much of the detail and of the hieroglyphs has completely disappeared. Bats too have done disgusting damage. The tomb apparently was already so unsightly that the Atenists spared it any further defacement. Nevertheless it contains a good many features of interest and, by presenting these in tracings and briefly noting the more commonplace records, the contents may be considered as sufficiently published for ordinary purposes.

The tomb consists of a single chamber divided longitudinally by two pillars and two

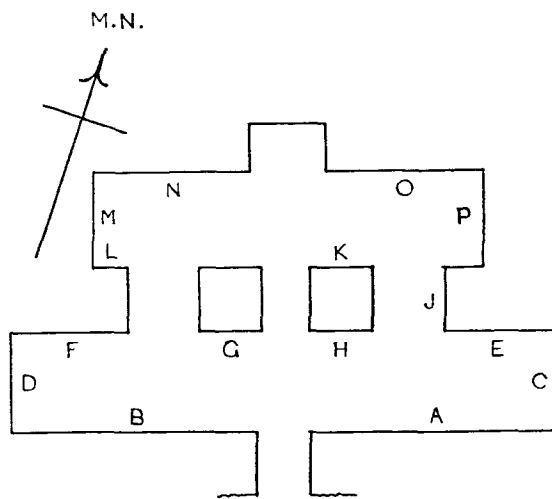


FIG. 1

pillasters, but the latter have been given such extension that they have the aspect of party walls, especially from the front, since the inner part of the chamber has not been given the same length as the outer. A roughly shaped niche in the middle of the rear wall seems designed to contain a seated rock statue.<sup>2</sup>

The owner was one Amenmosē, 'seigneur, chancellor of the king of Upper Egypt, sole companion, follower of the king in his journeys through the lands to the south and the north, steward in the southern city'.<sup>3</sup> Amenmosē seems to have lived through part of the reign of Tuthmosis III and on into the early years of Amenophis III. It would appear that he

looked back with most pride to his service under Tuthmosis, since, though he gives the chief position in the tomb to Amenophis III as the reigning king when it was decorated, it is for Tuthmosis that he prays and, in memory of him, he placed a scene of his homage to this king opposite the other, but in an inconspicuous position. This figure was obviously executed in the reign of Amenophis III, as the face is definitely in the style of that period. The exceptional excellence of this scene seems to reflect the hero-worship of his early manhood. The rest of the work is surprisingly poor for the period, but this impression may be in part due to the state of the walls.

WALL A. Near the doorway A.→ offers ducks on two braziers to Amūn and Rē-Ḥarakhti:

<sup>1</sup> The tracings from which the plates have been prepared were made by N. M. Davies, who also noted briefly the contents of the tomb. N. de G. Davies has confined himself to checking these notes and such of the more legible texts as are presented here, and writing this succinct summary of the results.

<sup>2</sup> See the sketch plan, Fig. 1. The tomb has been completely photographed by Mackay for the Mond records.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe (*Urkunden*, IV, p. 1025) adds the title 'standard-bearer' from a cone (no. 286 of Daressy), but the only ground for assigning it to our Amenmosē is its similarity to another (no. 308 of my collection) which names the steward Amenmosē and which was found by Mond in the court of Tomb 89 (*Annales du Service* 6, 96). This title would imply that Amenmosē had begun with a military career.

mats of food and ointment are in front of him. A panel of text, half obliterated by paint, reads: 'For thy *ka*, Amen-Rē, king of the gods, for Rē-Harakhti, and for Ḥathōr, regent of Thebes, that they may give victorious courage to the royal spirit of Men-kheper-Rē'.<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of the wall a man ← cuts up an ox. He is 'Sedem-amūn, butcher of the steward, Amenmosē'. Another assistant ← holds out to A. a censuring-spoon and a dish with a cone of fat. Behind A. four men → in two registers bring flowers and twists of fragrant gum. Short texts have been smeared out. In a sub-scene eight men → bring more incense, flowers, a bull with a garland of vine round its neck, a large wine jar in a net, and duck. On the left A. → sits behind a stand of food which a man ←, holding a triple stem of papyrus, consecrates. Behind A. two ladies → sit, one above the other, with tables of food before them. They are drawn on a network of small squares. In front of A. are guests in three registers, the upper two containing seven men ← seated on stools and served by a butler →, the lowest occupied by three women ← seated on backed chairs and waited on by a girl →. The left end of the sub-scene shows food being consecrated by a man ← in ordinary dress to two seated couples → (all erased).

WALL B. Near the entrance A. ← pours incense on to a mass of offerings which he is presenting to various gods, including Osiris and Ḥathōr, to the Ennead, and finally to 'the door-keepers of the gates of Dēt'. Behind A. is the equally large figure of a man → facing closely a female figure of the same size (both cut out); probably a goddess is holding something beneficial to his nostrils. A middle scene follows, the centre of which is occupied by a thicket of birds and a hillock of water in which are two fine fish, transfixed by the spear of A. ←. On the other side of it he is fowling → and in each case stands in the usual light skiff, on the incurved papyrus finial of which a cormorant (?) is perched, facing the sportsman or the little lady who kneels at his feet. The scene is in the usual style. In a third scene at the right end of the wall A. ← is enjoying the meal which his exertions have obtained for him, for fish, duck, and bundles of (edible?) papyrus are set below the usual stand of food. A man facing him offers papyrus stems and a bouquet. By exception neither of the figures is erased.

WALL C. Here there is a round-topped stela within a square framework. It is now burnt red and only the top remains, where the figures of two gods, back to back in the lunette, are seen. At each side of the framing were three panels showing men offering to A., but every figure has been erased.

WALL D. Osiris is enthroned within a naos which has the form of a four-posted coffin with barrel vaulting, such as the gods occupy in the burial ritual. On each side of this were three panels: those on the left show A. offering →, those on the right, deities ← seated. They are Anubis, the goddess of the west, and Ḥathor.

WALL E. *Upper scene.* A. and wife (?) → offer to Osiris ← in a kiosk.

*Lower scene* (almost lost). Perhaps a priest → throws purifying water over A. ←. On the left small figures in three rows bring → offerings.

WALL F (Plate xxii). This kitchen scene is not inappropriate to the tomb of a steward who was responsible for the domestic economy of the palace. It has some parallel in the tomb of Kenamūn, also a royal steward.<sup>2</sup> There are three registers, in each of which two rows of men are dominated by a figure of A. (un erased) seated → on the left, but the movement → is away from him, as if it found fulfilment round the corner where the burial scenes lie, or on the end face of the pilaster (though it is left blank). Perhaps it is only an admission that all this preparation was not for his house but for his master's.

<sup>1</sup> Notice the correction to Sethe, *Urkunden*, p. 1022. The expunging paint that covers the text seems to be a protest of Amenophis III against the mention of any king but himself. Was this mild offence the reason for the erasure of the figures of A. also?

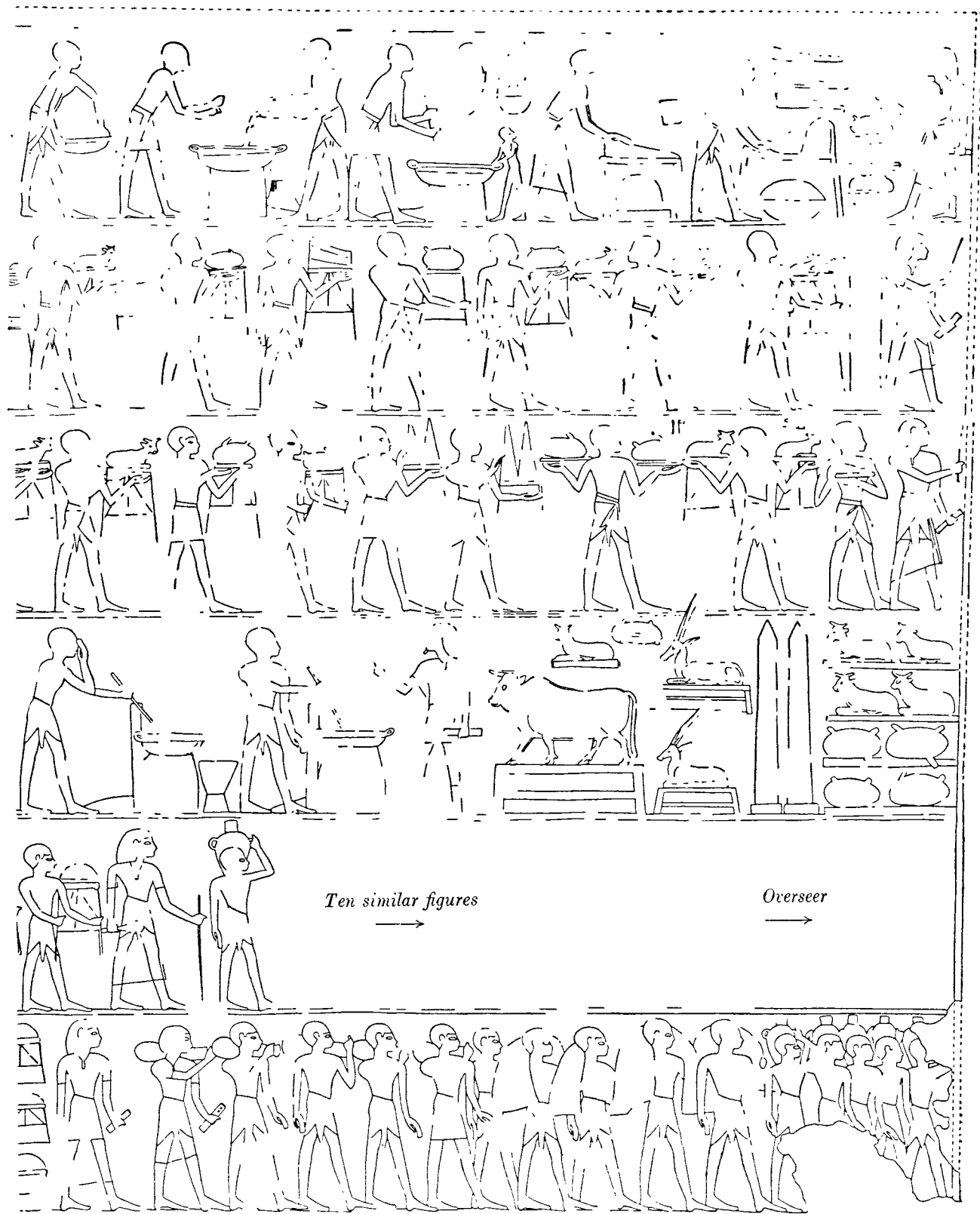
<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Kenamūn*, Pls. lviii, lix.





Scale 2:15

TOMB OF AMENMOSE (No. 89)



## SCENES IN THE KITCHEN





*Top register.* Amenmosē → faces an array of materials, stands piled with what may be fragrant gums above, and large jars, both sealed and open, below. If it be gum, then what we have here may be the preparation of scented fat and incense. The episodes are as follows. (1) A scribe writes down the amount delivered to the cooks. (2) Two men pour ingredients into a cooking-pan, one substance at least being a fluid. (3) The pan is carried off. (4) It is set on a stove and one man stirs while another pours in a new ingredient from a jar. (5) The contents are perhaps being ladled out after cooling and piled up in dishes. A child seems to be meddling with the contents. (6) Wedge-shaped cakes are being made of the stuff. (7) It is also moulded into the form of trussed fowl. (8) An overseer ← directs the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> In the second row a file of men carry off what has been made out of the material, an overseer marching both at the head and in the rear. The inflammable fat has been moulded into fanciful forms, generally of couchant oxen or trussed fowl, but there are a few wedge-shaped cakes also.

*The middle register.* What is displayed before Amenmosē in the upper row under the supervision of a scribe are the moulded forms just seen. Led and followed by overseers as before, the men again bear away the objects and also little pyramids of the stuff and some piles of it in its raw state. In the lower row (1) a scribe checks the amount drawn from eleven large covered jars. (2) A man pours a liquid from a jar into a cup held by another, or, more likely, through a strainer which retains the lees. (3) The pan is carried off. (4) The contents are placed over a hot stove and stirred. (5) A vase suggests that another ingredient is now added, and it is stirred again. (6) An overseer sees to the last and most difficult operation, but this is not shown. (7) The forms into which the material has been moulded or cast are exhibited, the two more common forms being now supplemented by the much less feasible one of a fat and humped ox in walking attitude, couchant oryxes, and two obelisks such as are often indisputably formed out of frankincense. It would obviously be a great economy if instead of pouring incense on a pile of burning meat and fowl it were deemed enough to have combustible gums made into the forms of the sacrificial victims.

*Bottom register.* The massed materials on the left include fourteen large oil (?) jars and twenty white platters (?). Four heaps of some substance lie below. In the upper row are seen (1) An overseer. (2) Five men carrying the grey substance on platters or piled up on stands. (3) A second overseer. (4) Eleven men carrying large jars, headed by a third overseer. In the lower row are (1) an overseer. (2) A man striking (?) a measure of the grey substance (incense?).<sup>2</sup> (3) A man filling platters with it. (4) A man laying them out in a row, much as fellāh women spread dough on clay platters to rise in the sun. (5) A man setting out tables of it. (6) An overseer. (7) Five men carrying jars (?) set horizontally on their shoulders. (8) Five men carrying white sacks or linen. (9) Five men carrying sealed jars (upright).

In this puzzling display the making of incense, salves, pomades, &c., for a very large household seems to be indicated. Possibly in the lowest row the making of fullers' earth or some other cleansing substance may be in the draughtsman's mind.<sup>3</sup>

WALL G. *Upper scene.* A. → served with food. Text illegible.

WALL H. Stripped of plaster.

WALL J. A. → seated holding a baton. In front of him is a flaming lamp on a stand and four tapers set in a rack.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A square object here and there may be a small measure for computing the ingredients.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Davies in *JE4* 9, Pl. xxviii, B.

<sup>3</sup> No reliance can be placed on the feeble colours, for in their burnt state they give no help. The little curls are characteristic of incense, however. Some very faint notes for textual docketts may be detected. They seem to spell 'priest' (*hm ntr*) but probably read 'incense' (*sntr*).

<sup>4</sup> Figured in Davies, *JE4* 10, Pl. vii, no. 15.

WALL K. A. → (erased) presents a fan to Tuthmosis III enthroned.<sup>1</sup>

WALLS L, M. The funeral procession in four registers, beginning on the right of M and closing on the left of L.<sup>2</sup>

(1) A file of men →, each bringing funeral furniture, as follows. Three ointment vases and a fan. Three ointment jars. A casket. A chair. A vase. Three ointment jars and two staffs. A casket and two giraffe's tails. A casket and a fan. Two ointment jars and a bead necklace. Three ointment jars and a fan. Two ointment jars. Two situlae and two tails. A casket and a staff. A fan and ointment jars. A casket and a giraffe's tail.

(2) Four draught oxen with a yoke tied to the horns but no rope. A man offers incense and a libation. A driver. Four or more men with their hands on a rope. The catafalque, with [Nephthys] and Isis in attendance, set in a bark and drawn on a sled. Eight men carry a burial chest on poles. A female mourner walks beside it. Four men bring caskets.

(3) Men → bring furniture. Two vases and a fan. Three jars on a stand and a fan. A bed with head-rest. The remainder is gone, but five male mourners follow (on wall L).

(4) Of the voyage to and from Abydos only the tug returning → under sail and oars remains (on the right of wall M) and five more male mourners (on wall L).

WALL N. The left half of this wall is devoted to the operations of 'opening the mouth'. There are two registers with four episodes in each. In the second row most of the texts are legible. A third register shows a file of men → carrying offerings and animals.<sup>3</sup>

The right half of the wall shows two large figures of men bringing a formal bouquet and an elaborately built-up offering of papyrus and ducks to a seated figure ← of A. (all three erased). A large altar-table holding food and jars is set before A. The texts are legible.<sup>4</sup>

WALL O. Presentation of foreign tribute to the king → by A. (Plates xxiii-xxiv). Amenophis III is seated under a simple baldachin supported on two lotus columns. Hathōr, 'regent of the necropolis, who gives health, life, and prosperity', is seated beside him. The faces of both are somewhat roughly drawn. An ♂ sign within the kiosk uplifts a feather fan to the king. A. (erased) probably stood with pendent arms. The king was styled 'the good god, master of ritual, lord of the dais (*tnṯt*) of appearance (?)', but this last phrase has been altered.<sup>5</sup>

The southern half of the wall being occupied by another subject, the races depicted here comprise those both of the north and the south, Syrians and negroes; for at this date, owing to the extension of Egyptian sway southward or of the infiltration of the negro northward, a definitely negro type represents the south country. The scene is divided into three registers, Syrians above, negroes in the middle, and Egyptian soldiery, emphasizing the fact of conquest, in the lowest row. The articles of tribute laid before the king are being formally presented by Amenmosē. The gifts are:

- (1) Seven dishes of blue and green materials.
- (2) The head of a lioness as a rhyton (blue spots on white).
- (3) A two-handled vase (blue spots on white).
- (4) Two bull's heads (the horns and markings in blue).
- (5) A fluted dish with ducks' heads as rim ornaments.
- (6) A *hest* vase in lapis-lazuli.
- (7) A fluted crater with double handle and flowers on the rim.

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Davies, *Bulletin of MMA* for Dec. 1924, Part II, p. 50.

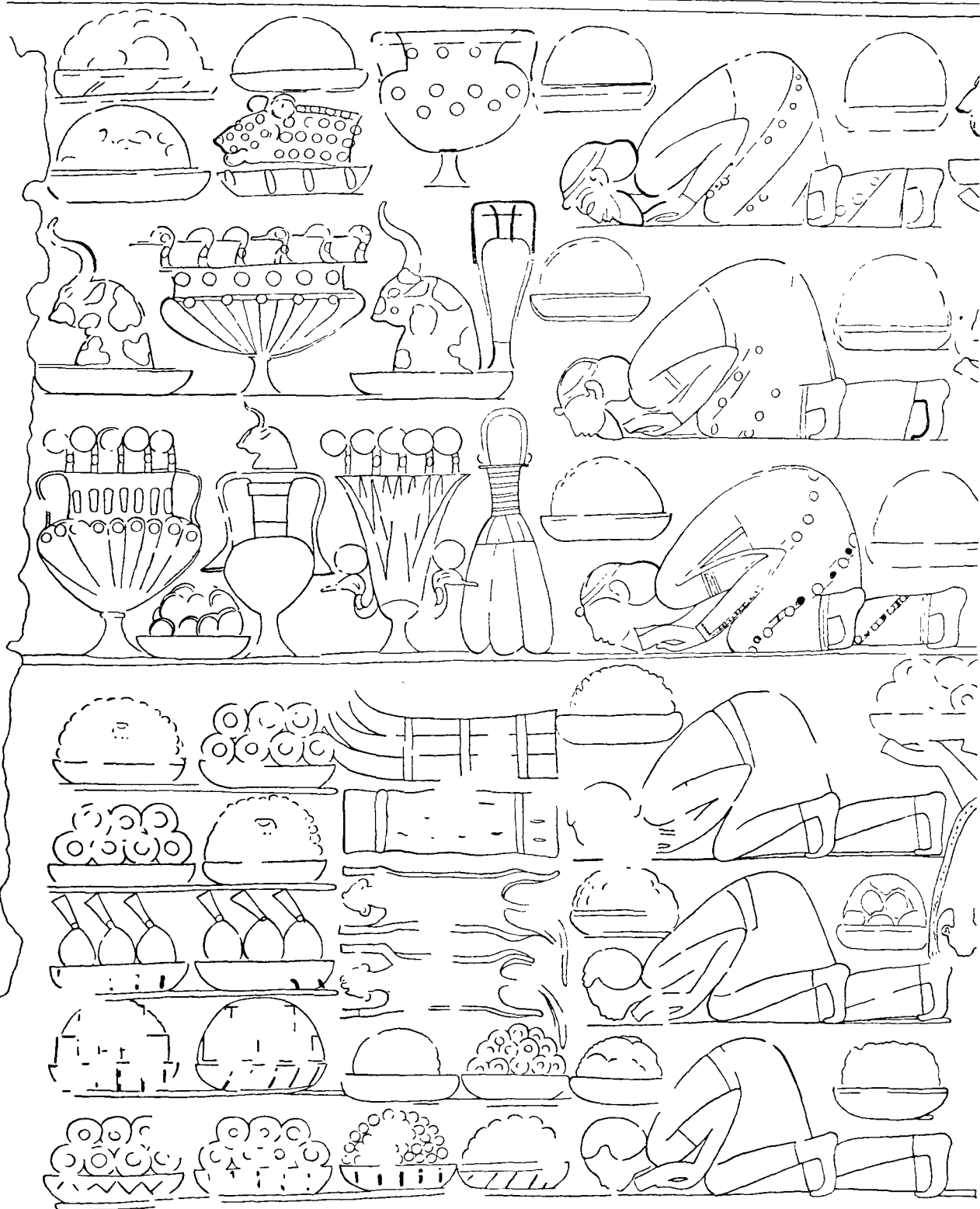
<sup>2</sup> For the texts (not checked by me) see Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, pp. 1023, 4 (F, 1-5).

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *ibid.*, p. 1022, D.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe, *loc. cit.*, E. For the stand of papyrus and duck cf. Davies, *Tomb of Ramosē*, Pl. xiii, 1.

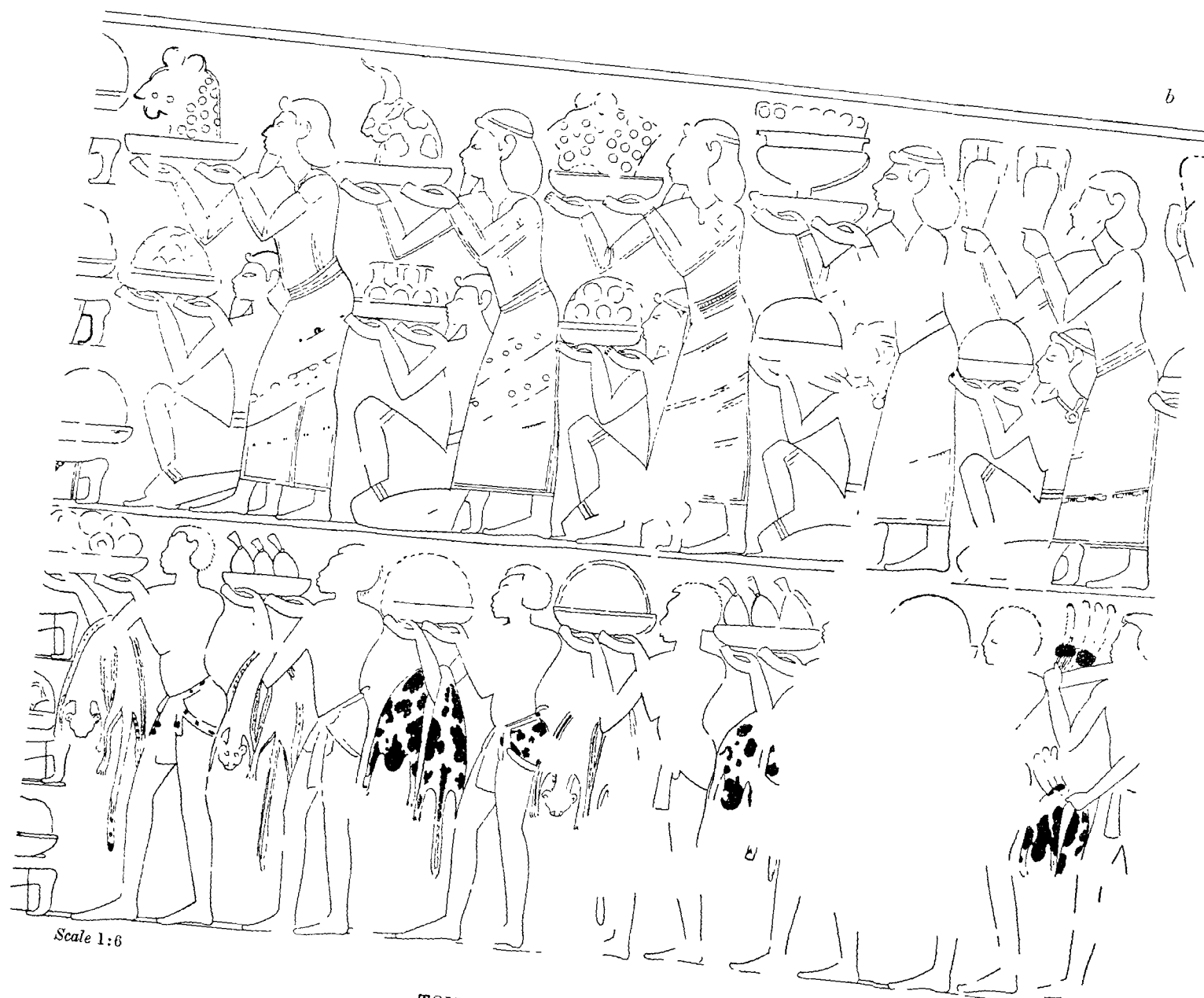
<sup>5</sup> Probably to what Sethe records (*ibid.*, p. 1022, B) with the omission of  $\frac{2}{A}$ .

a



Scale 2:9

THE TRIBUTE OF SYRIA AND NUBIA  
(continued on Pl. XXIV)



b

Scale 1:6

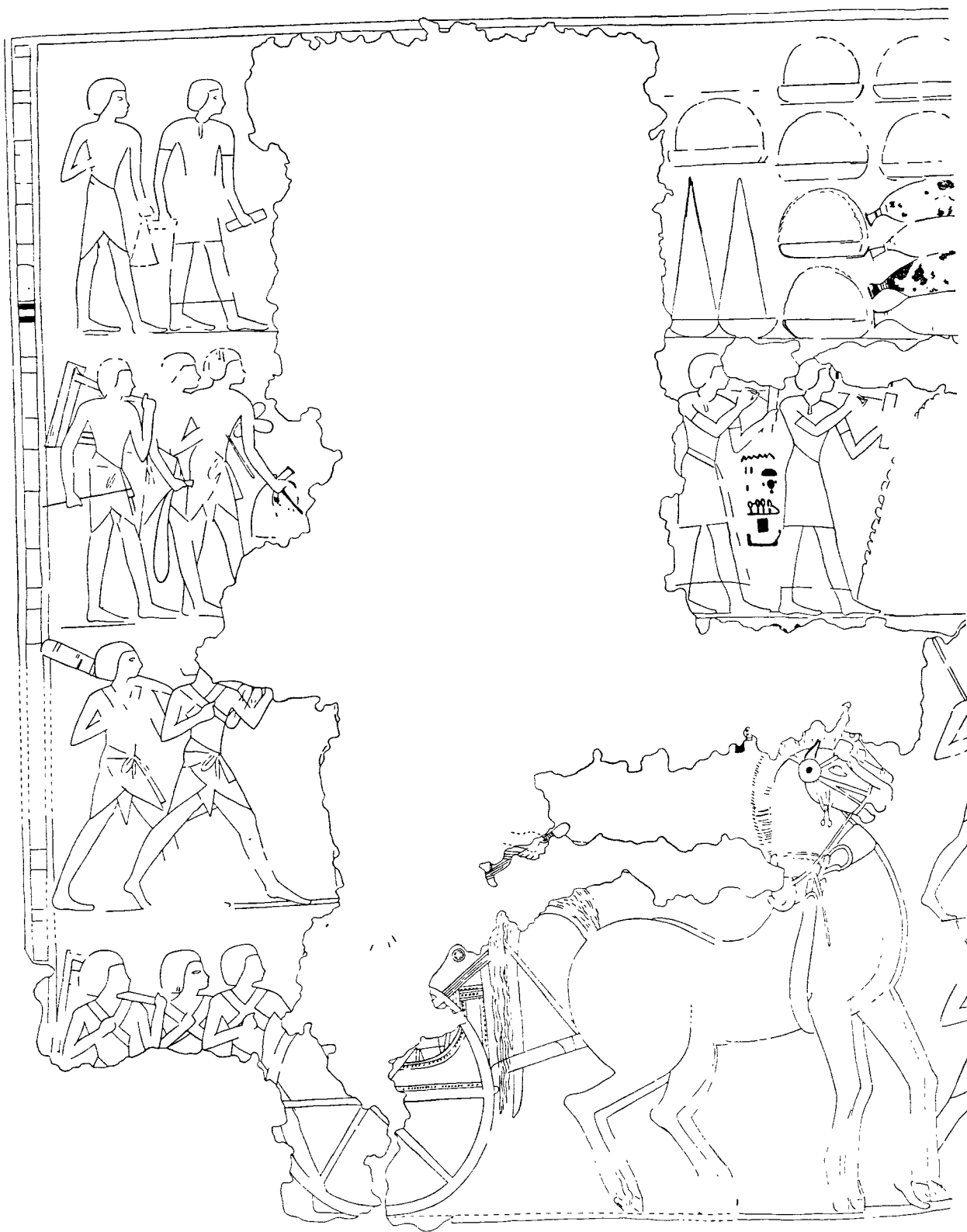
TOMB OF AMENMOSE (no. 89)

b



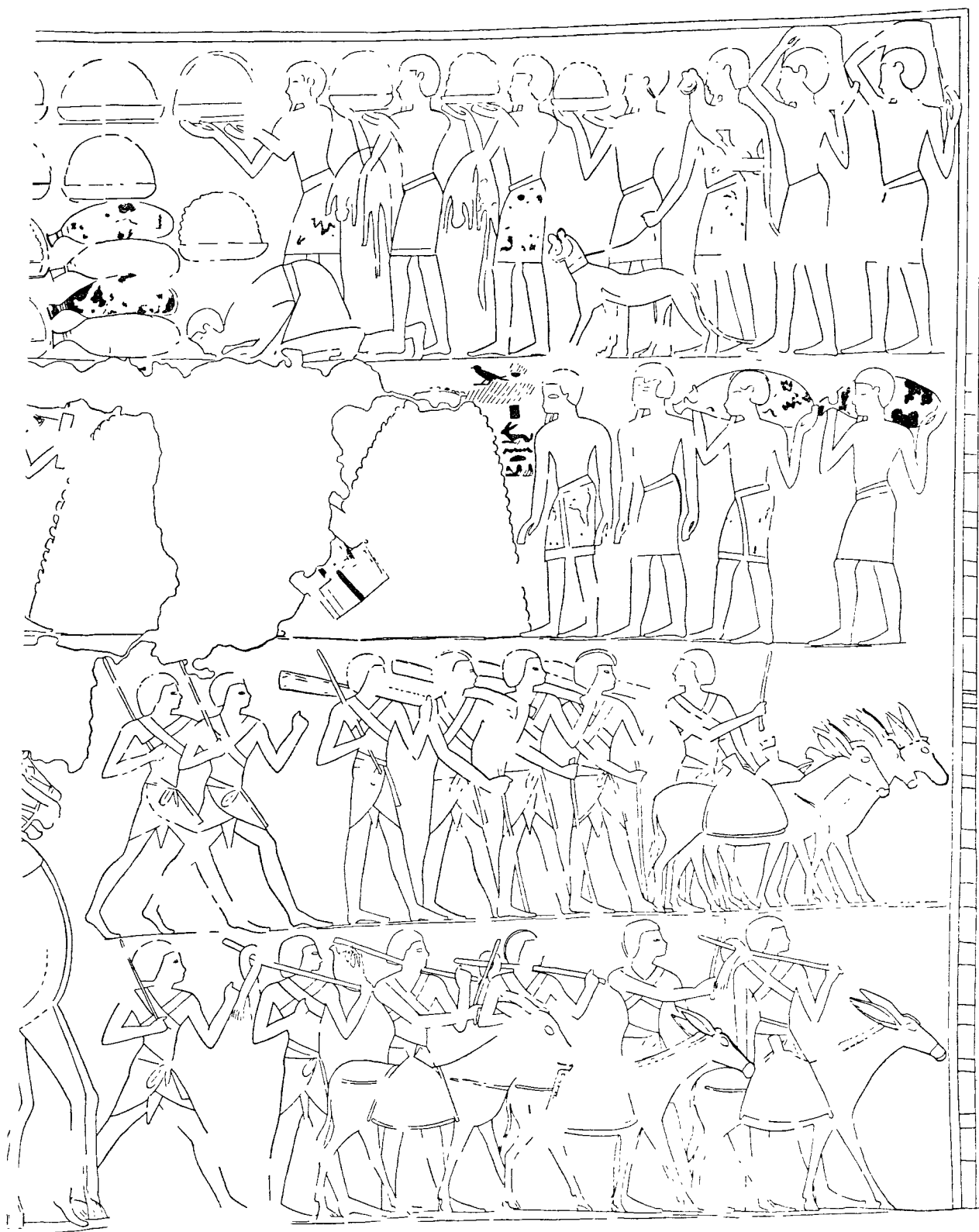
Scale 1:6

THE TRIBUTE OF SYRIA AND NUBIA  
(continued from Pl. XXIII)



Scale 2:13

TOMB OF AMENMOSE (no. 89)



AMENMOSE RECEIVING THE TRIBUTE OF PUNT





(8) A piriform vase with long stem and neck, lotus flowers as handles, and a bull's head as stopper. White (?) with blue bands.

(9) A lotiform cup with ducks' heads as handles and rim ornamentation.

(10) A silver situla with blue bands.

In the hands of the men of the deputation one sees again the dishes of materials, the vases, the bull's head, the rhyton, and also the same feline head set upright,<sup>1</sup> a similar dish but without handles, two chariots furnished with bow-cases, two cases for javelins to go with these, and, finally, two bows.

The men are dressed in a style which combines the earlier simplicity with some of the

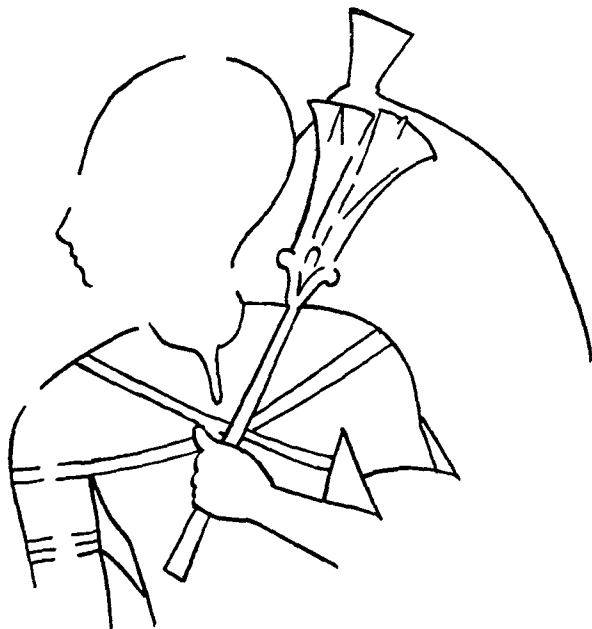


FIG. 2

later ornateness, the long white sleeved gown with blue edging having another garment cast round it from the waist down. This seems to consist of a broad decorated sash wound round the body in several folds which sag in front and therefore appear in a side view as sloping flounces. The beard and hair are full and a fillet is worn.

The massed tribute of the south-erners comprises (so far as the indefinite colour permits one to judge) gold, in small round nuggets, made up into rings, enclosed in bags, or formed into cubic ingots. In the right-hand part there are tusks, ebony logs, panther skins, and a further supply of gold. The dishes around the grovelling figures may contain gums (red?). Gold, ebony, and feline pelts are seen again in the hands of the men, but also ostrich feathers, monkeys, and two hunting dogs on leash

of the same breed as that shown so well in Tomb 100.<sup>2</sup> The skin of another animal (white with red blotches) has its head and paws (?) cut off;<sup>3</sup> the beast may have been thought ignoble or hateful and perhaps was the destructive wild dog of the desert.

Behind the men are still visible two of their women, each carrying a couple of youngsters in a pannier on her back. Here, as elsewhere, the men are given a peculiarly incurved spine and thrust out buttocks, probably an exaggerated feature of their build. The prostrate leaders, however, wear vests and long skirts and are less obviously negro; perhaps the Nubian element still dominated the negro majority in the districts represented. The soldiery in the lowest row<sup>4</sup> show a rank and file of ten spearmen bearing shields also and curved sticks, followed by six (?) men with spears and curved sticks but without shields. They are preceded by two men carrying encased bows and quivers, and a third who has a sack tied round his shoulders and bears a curious lotus wand (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Three ensigns follow,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Theban Tombs Series*, v, Pl. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Paintings from Rekhmir's*, Pl. viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. vi.

<sup>4</sup> See for this Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i, 285.

<sup>5</sup> This is common at Medinet Habu. See Wilkinson, *M. and C.* iii, Pl. lx and Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, i, Pls. 17, 22, 24, 29, 37, 38, 42, perhaps also in Davies, *El Amarna*, i, Pl. ix. The bearers seem to be military attendants on the king.

carrying sun-shade, pennon, and flail.<sup>1</sup> These may represent different corps and be tribally distinct.

WALL P (Plate xxv). Here commercial intercourse between Egypt and the people of Punt (Erithrea ?) is illustrated, the classical example of it being, of course, furnished by the temple of Dēr el Bahri. The convenient meeting-place of the two peoples would be the site of the modern Ḳoṣṣēr at the end of the route from Coptos to the Red Sea. The records of Tomb 143 show that trade goods of a light sort could be carried on the sailing rafts of Punt.<sup>2</sup> The very similar picture here, though lacking the most important feature, the vessels which have brought the articles of barter to market through so many hazards, shows that the same conditions held good for a period which may be extended by the long life of Amenmosē. We have several accounts of these tedious marches through the eastern mountains by those who took part in them. Pictures, no less than words, can be inaccurate; but at least the two kinds of documentary evidence combine to resuscitate, so far as is possible, the dead past.

The picture separates into an upper and a lower scene, each dominated (or was so before mutilation by ill-wishers) by the figure of the official who here records with satisfaction this little adventure. Except for this large figure, standing (?) in the upper scene, mounted in a chariot and pair in the lower, each picture is again divided into two rows. In the upper scene Amenmosē, attended by five personal attendants who carry bags, sandals, papers, and a case (or a camp-stool), surveys the goods which the visitors have brought. The main commodity is the fragrant gum which their country produced, brought in sacks or stuffed into skins, and now in part emptied on to platters for better inspection or pressed into pyramidal shape. Two cheetah skins are added and also two tame animals, the happier in that they bring their own skins to market. The gum has been tipped out into a heap and is being measured by bushel measures which the 'receiving' scribes duly check and jot down. The nationality of the men is recognizable by their clipped hair and thin beard. Two are noted as 'chiefs of Punt' (*wrw nw Pwnt*); but, as their simple loin-cloth is the same as that of their fellows, this may only be a courtesy title for the leaders of the enterprise.

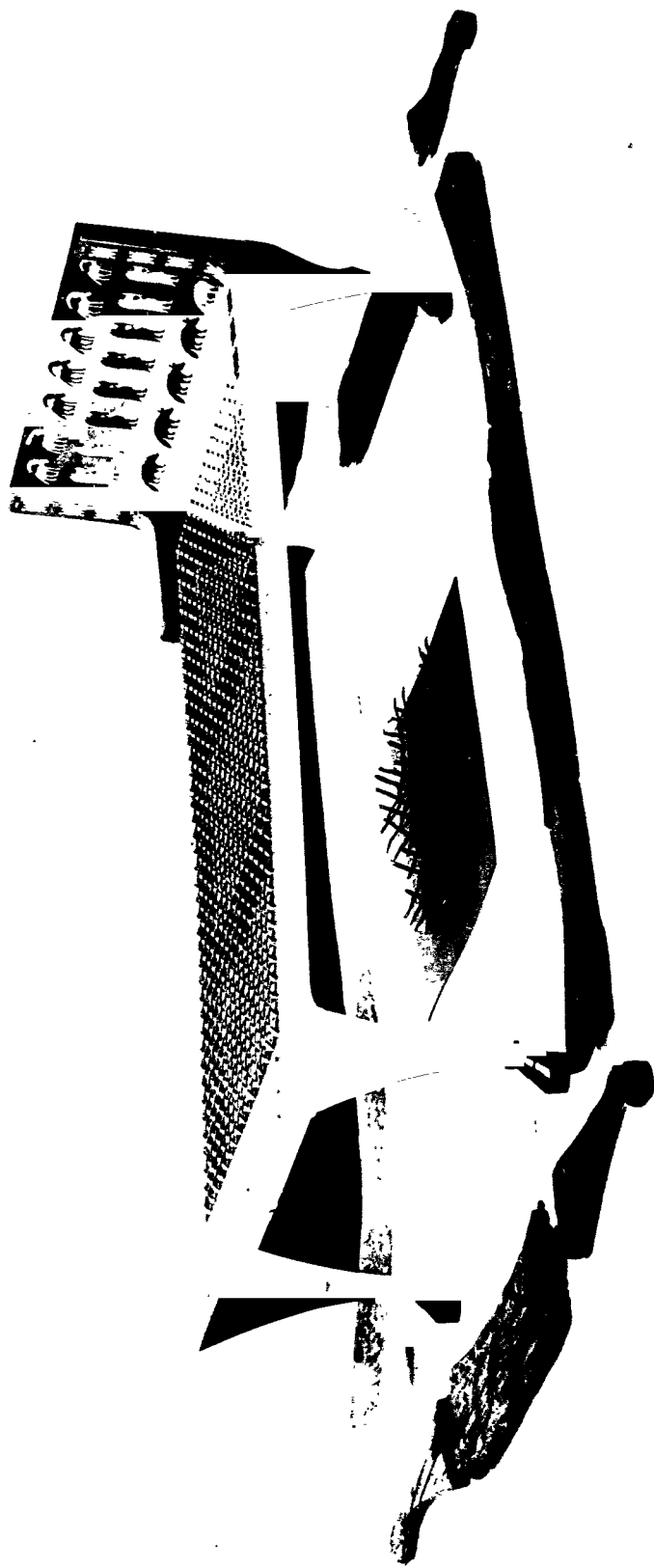
The bargain concluded, neither side being willing to undertake its long journey in vain, Amenmosē mounts his chariot for the return. He is lucky. All the rest have to walk at a smart pace behind the laden asses and many have also to shoulder a heavy ebony log. They are all clothed lightly in a loin-cloth and shoulder-straps. We must not take the picture too seriously, as, for instance, by computing that there is only one ass to every three men to carry provisions and water as well as the merchandise which is the object of the expedition. Obviously we cannot accept one small goat's skin as sufficing for a score of men on a two day's march between wells. But the absence of a weapon more offensive than a stick does seem to imply, either that the route was well policed or that no serious encounter with hostile nomads was to be feared on this stretch of desert. These trading excursions were probably infrequent, there only being one short annual period when the prevailing winds allowed the vessels of Punt to reach Ḳoṣṣēr with any hope of undelayed return.

The ceilings show four different patterns with yellow bands of text, but the latter are too badly damaged to need further notice. Of the patterns the least ordinary is that shown in colour in *Theban Tombs Series*, iv, Plate 1. The *khekers* above the scenes also extended to both sides of the architrave which divides the ceiling into two halves.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Davies, *El Amarna*, I, Pls. xvi, xxvi; *Tomb of Ḳenamūn*, Pl. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Bulletin of M.M.A.*, Nov. 1935, Section II, p. 46.





RECONSTRUCTED BED FROM KERMA

## AN EXPERIMENT IN RECONSTRUCTION AT THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

BY DOWS DUNHAM

DURING his excavations at Kerma Prof. Reisner found a large number of graves in which the burials were placed on wooden beds, and many of these articles of furniture were found in various states of preservation. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has in its storages a considerable number of these beds, none of them perfectly preserved, but many pieces in sufficiently sound condition to permit of detailed study of form and method of joinery. In his publication *Excavations at Kerma* Prof. Reisner makes a careful study of these objects and gives scale drawings of a bed from grave K 1085.<sup>1</sup> Taking these drawings as a guide, and using the actual pieces of original beds at the Museum as controls, the attempt has been made to construct a modern replica of the type of bed found at Kerma. The majority of them were furnished with footboards decorated with inlays of bone or ivory. The Museum possesses one practically complete set of inlays,<sup>2</sup> and casts of these have been set into the footboard of our reconstruction (Pl. xxvi).

All the evidence used is from beds out of graves in Tumulus K X, which Dr. Reisner dates to about 1750 B.C.

The work was executed under the Museum's supervision by Mr. Joseph Gerte, a cabinet maker of Boston. The construction has been carried out in the original manner throughout; no glue has been used, but the joinery depends on a system of tenons and mortises held in place by wooden pegs. Each pair of legs is strengthened by a wooden brace which runs down the inside of the leg and across the lower side of the cross member of the bed. These braces are held in place partly by wooden pegs, and partly by a system of raw-hide thong-ties (*op. cit.*, Fig. 203). The footboard and its angle-braces are held in place by the same means (Figs. 202, 204, 205).

The legs and frames of the original beds were made of acacia (*ṣunt*), at least in the great majority of cases, and were usually found in relatively sound condition. The footboards, however, were without exception very badly damaged by white ants, so much so that the nature of the wood could not be determined. Prof. Reisner drew the conclusion from this fact that these boards were doubtless made of soft wood, a practice which would have facilitated the insertion of the inlaid decoration.

For our replica it was found impossible to obtain Egyptian acacia, and we therefore used rose-wood for the body and legs, because of its similarity in graining, colour, and weight. For the footboard a piece of selected and carefully seasoned pine was employed.

While the replica constructed in Boston is not a copy in every detail of any single bed, it undoubtedly gives a very good idea of what these pieces of furniture looked like when in daily use. Its very sturdy construction leaves no doubt that these were articles of household furniture buried with their owners, not equipment made especially for funerary use. The fine proportions and good 'style' of the bed lend support to the contention that Kerma was a centre of truly Egyptian culture, for it seems hard to believe that the local population would have produced objects of such real refinement except under very strong Egyptian influence.

<sup>1</sup> *Kerma*, iv-v, pp. 208-20 and Figs. 191-206.

<sup>2</sup> MFA Nos. 13.4219-23. *Op. cit.*, p. 270 item 27 from grave K 1053.

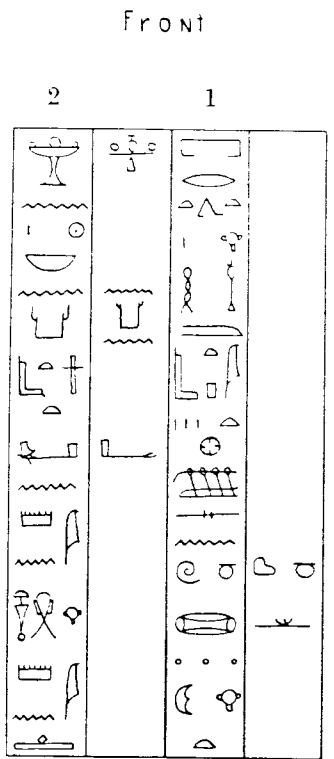
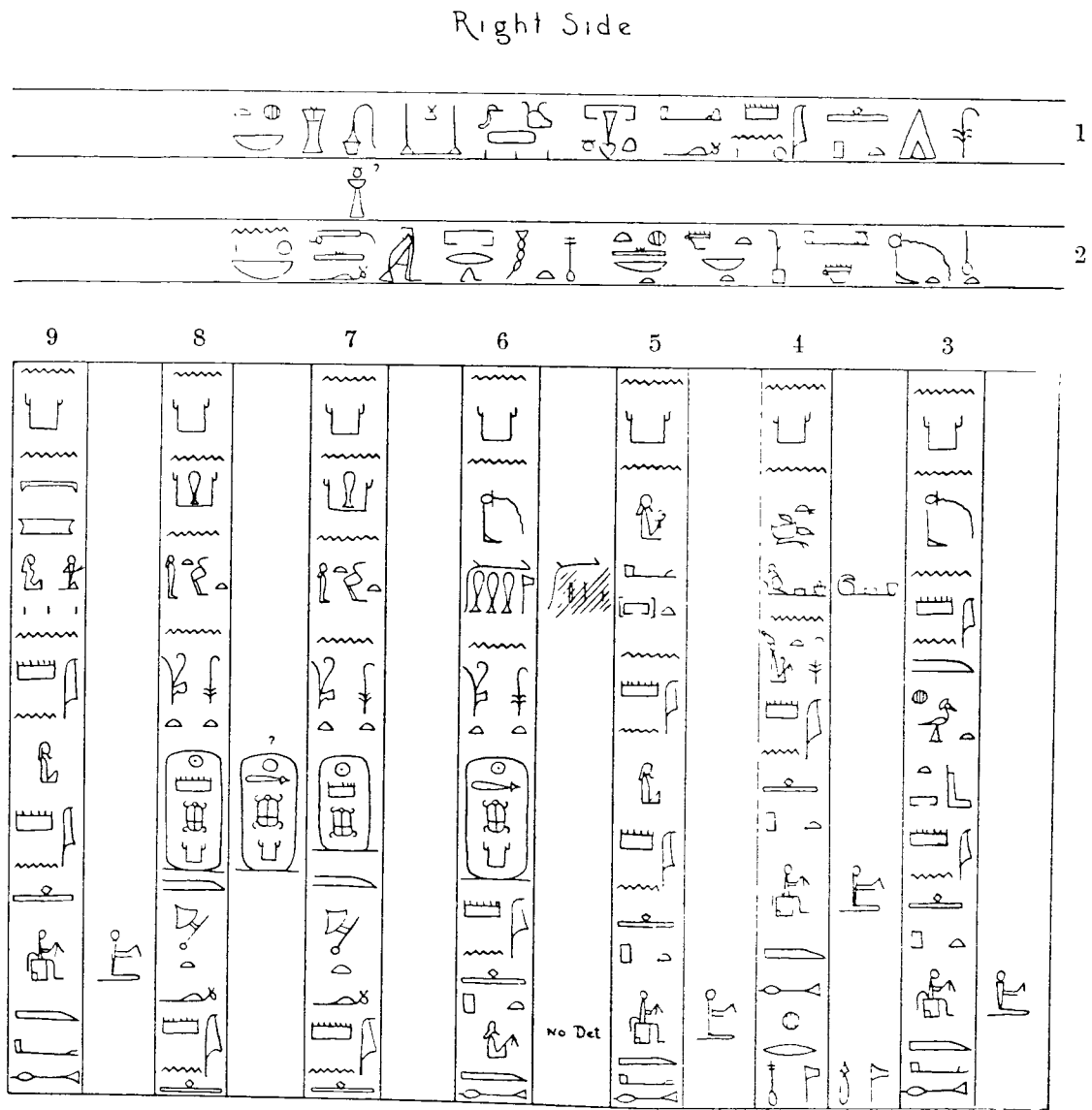
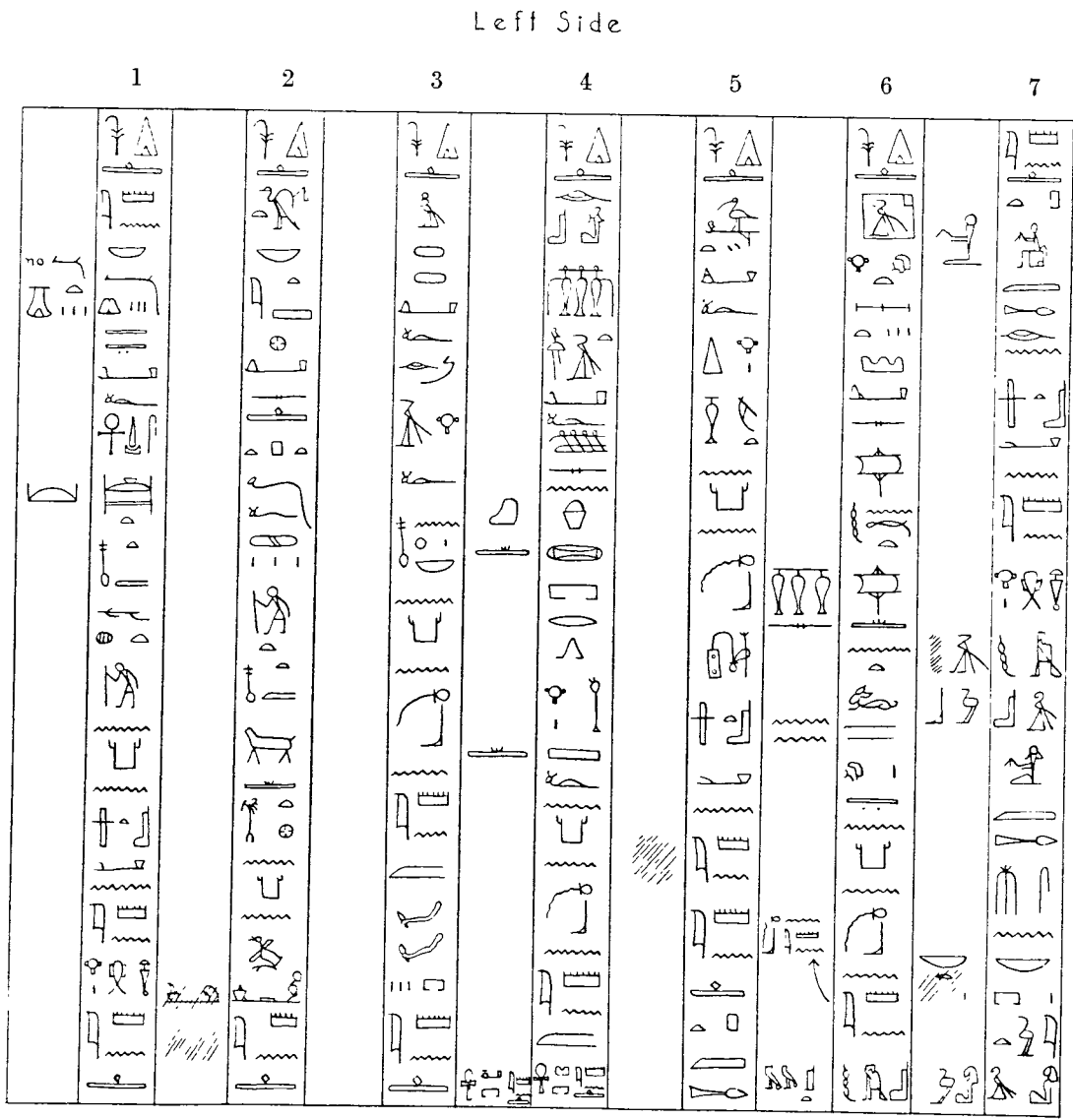
## A STATUE FORMERLY AT URIAGE

BY DOWS DUNHAM

IN the *Revue Égyptologique* for January 1919, Nouvelle Série, I, 1, pp. 1–27, A. Moret publishes a number of monuments from the collection of the Comte de Saint-Ferriol at Uriage. In the first paragraph of his article he states: ‘depuis le mois de décembre 1916, les stèles, bas-reliefs, sarcophages, ont été donnés au Musée de Grenoble; . . . quelques statues et autres pièces ne se trouvent pas à Grenoble; j’ignore si elles sont restées à Uriage ou si elles ont été dispersées.’

The second monument in the series published by Moret is a limestone seated statue of a certain Amenhotpe (*loc. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and Plate iii), the texts from which he reproduces in hieroglyphic print. This statue has now turned up in the United States, having been acquired by the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island, early in 1940. The writer recently had an opportunity of examining the figure and of studying the inscriptions. On comparing the latter with Moret’s readings a number of corrections appear to be called for, and I have therefore taken the opportunity of republishing Moret’s transcription, giving my own readings where they differ from his; see Pl. xxvii.

The revised readings are for the most part unimportant, but the following should be noted. I read (right side, lines 7 and 8): *Ka*-servant of the statues of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis I. At the bottom of line 4 on the left side I read: *Wēb*-priest of Amūn in *Henket-ankh* (Funerary Temple of Tuthmosis III). In line 7 on the left side the father’s name is certainly not to be read with Moret *Ndm-st-Hr*; the first sign is illegible, but the other three read *.sbw*. The mother was named *Twīw*. At the bottom of line 6 I read: *m m st*, whatever that may mean. Note, also, that in line 3, right side, *ḥt-st* is, according to Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.*, the Funerary Temple of Menthotpe IV at Dēr el-Baḥrī and not an epithet applied to the temples of Karnak-Luxor.



STATUE OF THE PRIEST AMENHOTPE FORMERLY AT URIAGE





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### 6. Law

FR. PRINGSHEIM, 24 Chalfont Rd., Oxford

#### A. GENERAL

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The Tebtynis Papyri, vol. III, is revd. by CL. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 386–93 (about legal subjects, 392), the Adler Papyri by the same, *ibid.* 393–7. P. Athen. is revd. anonymously in *Ἀρχαίων ἰδ. Δικ.* 6, 591.

A biography of P. KOSCHAKER to his 60th birthday is contributed by L. WENGER to the *Festschrift für Koschaker* III, 1–23: *Paulo Koschaker Sexagenario* (p. 7 for his work about papp.). This *Festschrift* is revd. by P. J. ZEPOS, *Ἀρχαίων ἰδ. Δικ.* 6, 489–91.

Necrology: P. COLLINET by W. KAMPS, *Paul Collinet et ses travaux de papyrologie juridique*, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 416–18 and by F. DE VISSCHER, *St. et doc.* 5, 647–9.

#### (ii) Legal history.

##### (a) General.

P. KOSCHAKER's treatment of the two interrelated problems of 'Antike Rechtsgeschichte' and the 'Krise des römischen Rechts' (*Die Krise des röm. Rechts u. d. romanist. Rechtswiss.*, *Akad. f. d. R.* 1, 1938) has given rise to a new, but not very useful discussion, mostly critical of the author's scepticism: L. WENGER in *Festschr. Koschaker*, III, 11–19. 21; BALTATZES, *Ἀρχαίων ἰδ. Δικ.* 6, 145–6; J. GAUDEMET, rev. of M. R. MONIER, *Les méthodes de reconstitution de l'évolution historique du droit romain*, *Rev. hist. dr.* 17 (19–38) 506–7; M. KASER, *Die deutsche Wiss. rom. röm. R. seit 1933*, *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 15, 208 ('antike Rechtsgeschichte' more appropriate to help comparison of law, than to form a synthesis of Greek, Graeco-Egyptian, and the laws of Asia Minor with Roman law); G. GROSSO, *St. et doc.* 5, 505–20 (reviewing KOSCHAKER's treatise; not concealing the responsibility of the *movimento antiromanistico in Germania*); E. LEVY, *Cl. Weekly* 33, 91–2 (critical, mentioning the programme of the party governing Germany: 'In such circumstances, knowledge of Roman law almost seems to be a risk rather than a recommendation'). L. WENGER, *Aus jur. Papyrusforschungen*, *Actes du VIII Congrès internat. des sciences histor.*, sect. II, 156 gives a survey of studies and problems.

##### (b) Egyptian law.

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##### (c) Greek law.

The νόμος as a guarantee is the theme of H. NIEDERMEYER, *Aristoteles u. d. Begriff des Nomos bei Lykophron*, *Festschr. Koschaker* III, 140–71. G. SIMONETOS, *Das Verhältnis von Kauf u. Übereignung im altgriech. R.*, *ibid.* III, 172–98, following substantially J. PARTSCH, tries to separate the sale without effect in *rem* from the sale with such effect. The first before the delivery of an *arrha* causes only a 'debt without liability' (*Schuld ohne Haftung*), after that a 'valid' sale, but without an action for performance for the vendor; if the emptor in some systems of law has an action for performance is doubtful. The second: without movables payment of the price, with immovables the same and publicity transfer the ownership; possession is without importance: a cautious and valuable interpretation of the text of Theophrastos. N. J. PANTAZOPOULOS, *Ein Beitrag z. Entwicklung der Diathese im altgriech. R., mit bes. Berücksicht. des att. Rechts*, *Festschr. Koschaker* III, 199–223, is a solid contribution, in many points criticizing and completing STEINWENTER's *Streitbeendigung* (1925); S. CH. SAKELLARIADES, *Ἀρχαίων ἰδ. Δικ.* 6, 497–512, gives a survey of the same subject. About

Greek marriage cf. B. III (a). I have not seen J. D. ZEPOS, *Adoption in the old Greek law*, rev. by himself in *Ἀρχαίων ἰδ. Δικ.* 6, 153.

(d) *Greek law in Egypt.*

R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *The Ancient Greek City Laws in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *Actes V Congr. Int. Papyrol.* 471–89, is a very valuable survey of correspondences (in all cases influences?) of Greek and Ptolemaic law; the Greek law of Egypt is composed of various elements; it corresponds to the ethnic composition of the Greek immigration.

(e) *Cuneiform law.*

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(f) *Oriental law.*

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(iii) *Diplomatic.*

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(iv) *Oath.*

E. SEIDL, *Der Eid i. röm. Prov. R.*, 2. Teil, is favourably revd. by G. HUBRECHT, *Rev. hist. dr.* 17 (1938), 476–9. O. EGER, *Eid u. Fluch i. d. maionischen u. phryg. Sühne-Inschriften*, *Festschr. Koschaker* III, 281–93, mentions the 'Gnomon', § 99 (283, n. 10), and papp. (285, nn. 16 and 17). Imperial oaths in P. Ath. 35 (A.D. 153–4), Early Byz. pap. from the Cairo Mus. No. 23 (A.D. 314) (A. E. R. BOAK, *Ét. de Pap.* 5, 85) (chaff collectors), P. Strassb. 149 (4th cent. A.D.) (to a *praepositus pagi*) and P. Aberdeen 19 and 49. P. Adler demot. 17 and 19 contain oaths of a party.

(v) *Registration.*

*Birth registration*: H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 53, 89 revs. O. GUÉRAUD, *À propos des certificats de naissance du Mus. du Caire*, reprinting and correcting two tablets from P. Mich. III: 'a most valuable discussion of . . . birth registration in general'. *Returns of land*: P. Ath. No. 42 (*ἀβροχία*), No. 42, 43 (*ἐπίσκεψις*) cf. 44, 45, 47, P. Strassb. 152 (A.D. 288–9) (3 coniuratores, 'addressed to' a censitor with imperial oath). *Κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*: P. Ath. 46; P. Bruxelles E. 7360, M. HOMBERT and CL. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 161–5.

*Lists of persons*: P. Ath. 48 (tax-collection); 49 (*πενθημερία*); 50, 51, 52 (tax-arrears).

*Registration of contracts*: P. Adler demot. p. 67 reports on notaries representing priests; for a century in two instances three generations succeeded each other as notaries from father to son. N. J. REICH, *Mizraim* 9 (1938) 19, gives the texts and an interpretation of six Greek 'deposit-receipts' on a group of demotic contracts of 264–233 B.C. Following WILCKEN he sees in these 'receipts' the registration of the dem.

contracts in a Greek ἀρχεῖον; the difference in date between the contract and its endorsement varies from 1 to 22 days; the oldest and best formulated text reads: (date). πέπωκεν εἰς κίβωτον. ἐχρημάτισεν (i.e. has officiated) ὁ δεῖνα ἀντιγραφὲς, τελώνης ὁ δεῖνα. P. Ath. 25 (sale of a mill, A.D. 61) and 27 (sale of a donkey, cf. 28) contain the formula: ἐντέτακται εἰς ἀναγραφὴν (διὰ τοῦ) ἐν Καρανίδι γραφείου (ἀναγράφεται διὰ τοῦ ἐν Καρανίδι γραφείου). Surprising and very important is P. Adler Gr. 5 (108 B.C.), a copy of an agoranomic sale of land (ὠνή) which states in 1. 12 κατατίθεται τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. Elsewhere we have always the ἀρχεῖον and not the βιβλιοθήκη.

## B. LAW OF PERSONS

### (i) Juristic persons.

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### (ii) Slavery.

P. Eitrem 16 (2nd cent.), *Z. neut. Wiss.* 37 (1938), 47, contains a petition to the prefect (?) on a *servus fugitivus*.

### (iii) The family.

#### (a) Marriage.

G. GARDIKAS, *Τὰ Ἑλληνικά ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γαμελία συμβολαία, Ἀρχεῖον* ιδ. Δικ. 6, 157–211, gives a summary of marriage contracts on papyrus. W. ERDMANN, *Zum nomos agraphos d. gr.-äg. Pap., Festschr. Koschaker* III, 224–40, thinks that the γάμος ἄγραφος is a materially guaranteed concubinage; P. Par. 13 contains a mere promise of marriage for the future. γ.α. involves no dowry, the husband does not become κύριος, wife and children have no right of succession. The term γ.α. is late (not before A.D. 40), misleading, a mere euphemism. If there was something like an Egyptian 'loose marriage' (lose Ehe), Hellenistic law acknowledged this 'marriage' only as a concubinage; but perhaps the later development, which considered the concubinage as a *legitima coniunctio*, was influenced by Egyptian conditions. These conclusions are not convincing. E. SCHÖNBAUER, *Unters. z. Publizitätsr. i. ptol. u. röm. Äg., Archiv* 13 (1938), 39, after having reported on the theories about γάμος ἔνγραφος and γάμος ἄγραφος, states twelve negative and some twenty positive theses. He distinguishes docc. for the securing of evidence (P. Eleph. I) and acts of publicity (P. Freib. 26, 29, 30, B.G.U. 1050 ff., P. Fay. 22). Protagmata extended publicity from the polis to the chora. Only an act of publicity could secure privileged liability for the securing of the dowry; regulations of a contract for succession; a title for the acquisition of ownership. Ἀγράφως συνεῖναι and ἐνγράφως συνοικεῖν mean 'to be married without pacts of marriage' and 'to live together with pacts of marriage' respectively. Such pacts are possible to supplement the νόμος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων acknowledged by the Romans. A continuation of the study is promised. Without documents and proofs criticism is at present impossible. P. Adler demot. 2, a fragment, treats of a woman of alimony and of the consent of the wife to a sale of land by the husband, cf. P. Ryl. dem. XVII (III, p. 274); P. Adler demot. 14 and 21 contain fragmm. of marriage settlements. One of the P. Bruxelles, M. HOMBERT and CL. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 161, shows a marriage between a slave and a free woman (cf. P. Ryl. 103); the children seem to be free. S. SOLAZZI, *P. Mich. Inv. 508 e il matrimonio della filia familias, St. et doc.* 5, 471–9, criticizing WOLFF, *Aeg.* 17 (1937), 470, holds that the consent of the daughter is not necessary (more concerning Roman law); W. ERDMANN, *Die Rolle der Mutter bei der Verheiratung der Tochter nach griech. R., Z. Sav.* 59, 544–6, shows convincingly that the co-operation of the mother of the bride in P. Eleph. I is the continuation of old Greek conceptions and not influenced by Egyptian law. The dowry is secured by hypallagma in two papp.: P. Ath. 30 (A.D. 178–9) and P. Cairo Mus. 21 (A.D. 296); A. E. R. BOAK, *Early Byz. Pap., Ét. de Pap.* 5, 85–117. In both the dos is a *dos aestimata*; in the second statutes are mentioned which order that dowries recorded in writing must be evaluated by a goldsmith (for jewelry) and a tailor (for clothes); such constitutions are unknown until now. C. J. KRAEMER and N. LEWIS publish a divorce agreement from Southern Palestine (A.D. 689) in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 69 (1938), 117–33 (P. Nessana Inv. 14): seven witnesses or arbitrators belonging to the Christian Church; the divorce is effected by amicable agreement (*divortium bona gratia*, Nov. Justini, A.D. 566). LEVY, *Ehescheidung* (1925), 130, held that the seven witnesses, cf. Dig. 24, 2, 9, were unpractical in the Byz. period; this is the first example, although in the

Arabian epoch, but not under Arabian influence; the discussion of Semitic or Christian influence is not yet closed.

(b) *Adoption.*

For Greek law J. D. ZEPOS, ἡ υἱοθεσία ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ δικαίῳ, *Themis* 1939, 26, not seen. P. Ath. 20 (A.D. 111), publ. before in *Aeg.* 13 (1933), 563, is the contract of a wet-nurse; the child is a σῶμα δουλικὸν ἀπὸ κοπρίας; this phrase confirms the opinion (R. Taubenschlag, *Z. Sav.* 50, 146) that such a child is treated in spite of *Gnomon*, § 41, 107 as a slave; nevertheless it is a foster-child.

C. LAW OF PROPERTY

(i) *Καταγραφή.*

E. SCHÖNBAUER, *Archiv* 13, 40-1, begins an unsubstantial polemic against A. B. SCHWARZ.

(ii) Division of joint ownership.

The contract for the division, P. Bruxelles 7155 and 7156 B (107-106 B.C.) is a συγγραφή ἐξαμάρτυρος: U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 137. Division of land, P. Aberdeen 53 (A.D. 10-11) and P. Eitrem 15 (A.D. 51-2?).

(iii) Mortgage.

(a) *ὦν ἐν πίστει.*

P. Adler Gr. 2 (124 B.C.) seems to be a renunciation (ἀποστάσιον) of the property of land acquired by an ὦν ἐν πίστει after the payment of the debt. The fragment is supplemented on the basis of P. Heidelb. Inv. Nr. 1278 = Mitteis, Chr. 233 (112-111 B.C.), but it is not certain that the lacunae have been correctly filled by the editors, for there are other parallels in P. Grenf. 2, 28 (103 B.C.) and BGU 1260 (102 B.C.). The main passage runs: ἀφίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων σὺν Θαΐβει Φίβιος τῇ τούτων μητρὶ κατὰ συγγραφὴν ὠνὴς ἐν πίστει διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πανεβχοῦν ἐκτελ[ειωθεῖσαν(?) τῶν . . . (ἔτει) ἀντὶ] ὀφειλημάτων, οὐκ ἐπελευσομέ[ρους - - - τον Π. καὶ τὴν] Σ. περὶ ὀφειλημάτων μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλων μηδενός. ταῦτα δ[ὲ] μὴ ἐξέστωι Π. [καὶ Σ. μὴ] ἐπιπορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα μιδει[ός]. I have some doubts about ὑποκειμένων and ἐνέχυρα; both expressions do not fit very well with ὦν ἐν πίστει. They are not impossible (A. B. SCHWARZ, *Aeg.* 17 (1937), 251, n. 1) but improbable. Instead of ὑποκειμένων, which occurs similarly in P. Heidelb., P. Grenf. and B.G.U. mention the sold land: P. Grenf.: ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωνημένης . . . ἀμπελῶνος, B.G.U.: ἀπὸ τῆς πεπραμένης . . . γῆς. Instead of ἐπιπορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα P. Grenf. and B.G.U. have ἐπελεύσασθαι . . . ἐπὶ τὸν Π., and P. Adler Gr. 14, 19 has the same phrase. All of them speak of an aggression against the owner, not against the thing. μιδει[ός] gives no good sense; the edd. translate: 'to lay claim to the pledges of anyone', but nobody has pledges but the owner. No illustration of this important pap. is included, so it is impossible to try other supplements. Instead of [δὲ τῶν] περὶ τὸν Π. ἐκτελ[ειωθεῖσαν], mention of the ἀρχεῖον is to be expected following P. Heidelb. The main supplements are certain, and the doc. is very important. The commentary is (as always in this excellent publication) very short, the translation not always satisfactory, for instance: 'according to the contract (?) of sale for debts made in good faith' ('bona fide' instead of 'fiduciary').

(b) *Hypallagma.*

P. Ath. 21 (A.D. 132, Karanis) seems to be a hypallagma, although this word is not used. For a loan of money and corn the πράξις on the whole property καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης is granted. Then the doc. proceeds: μέχρις οὐ ἀποδῶ μὴ ἐξείναι τῇ Θ. πωλὶν μηδὲ ὑποτίθεσθαι μηδὲ ἄλλως καταχρηματίζειν τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ πέμπτον μέρος οἰκίας, and in the hypographe: καὶ βέβαιον ἔχω τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ (instead of ἐμῇ) πέμπτον μέρος οἰκίας. The phraseology is very near to that of P. Lond. II, 311, p. 219, of about the same date (A.D. 149), and also registered in the ἀρχεῖον of Karanis. P. Lond. uses the word 'hypallagma'; but nevertheless P. Ath. 21 is not only a 'restriction of disposition' (*Verfügungsbeschränkung*; cf. A. B. SCHWARZ, *Hypothek u. Hypallagma*, 136; E. RABEL, *Verfüg. Beschr.* 71), but something like an 'hypallagma'. A singularity is the phrase of the hypographe: βέβαιον ἔχω τὸ μέρος; otherwise (P. Lips. 10; P. Flor. 28; P. Ryl. 177) the βεβαίωσις looks different: βεβαιώσω πάση βεβαιώσει ἀπὸ τε δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς. Here the βεβαίωσις seems to take the place of the restriction of disposition which elsewhere (e.g. in P. Flor. 28) is repeated in the hypographe; this singularity is difficult to explain. Hypallagma to secure the dowry occurs twice in papp. publ. during the year: P. Ath. 30 (A.D. 178-9) and P. Cairo Mus. 21 (A.D. 296) (cf. above B (iii) (a)). The first is a ὑπαλλάγη of land in a dowry-contract, different from B.G.U. 1072, Col. I (A.D. 125), where the whole property is mortgaged (ὑπαλλάσσειν), what resembles more a κατοχή, related to the Roman *privilegium exigendi*. The second doc. is a petition (βιβλίδια) to the corrector (ἐπανορθώτης). A husband has concluded with his wife a written contract in which he recorded that he had given her a half interest in a slave as security for her dowry which

he had consumed (*ὑπηλλαχέναι . . . ἀνθ' ἧς κατεχρήσατο αὐτῆς προικός*). In the fragm. P. Adler dem. 10 and 27 are contained, as it seems, a pledge for loan and a mortgage of land.

(c) *Πρωτοπραξία*.

FR. WIEACKER, *Protopraxie und ius pignoris i. klass. Fiskalrecht, Festschr. Koschaker* I, 218–57, treats the Edict of the prefect Tiberius Alexander-Dittenberger *OGIS* II 669. *Πρωτοπραξία* is a *κατοχή* which arises without (and before) registration, a general right of seizure and arrest, like the Roman *ius (privilegium) fisci (relucti pignoris iure or pignoris vice)* besides a post-classical *ius fisci* and stipulated general hypothecae (no legal hypotheca).

(iv) Right of redemption.

M. DAVID has a painstaking and critical rev. of W. FELGENTRAEGER, *Losungsrecht in Tijdschrift* 16, 372–88.

(v) Prescription.

C. J. KRAEMER and N. LEWIS, *A Referee's hearing on ownership, Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1937 is revd. by M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 186; the subject is *longi temporis praescriptio*; cf. *Actes V Congr. Int. Papyrol.* 245–8.

#### D. LAW OF OBLIGATIONS

(i) Loan.

P. Adler dem. 4, 5, 6, 11, and 25 include the phrase: 'we shall not be able to say "we have given the silver, corn or anything whatsoever" without proved receipt; we shall not be able to say "we have performed for thee the right of the contract" while the above contract (bond, writing) is in thy hand'. Corresponding to this the receipt (discharge) P. Adler dem. 22 runs: 'take possession of my writing for silver for the rest'. The importance of the possession of the written contract is clear; it is not performance alone but restitution of the doc. which discharges the contract. P. Adler Gr. 19 is a loan in homological form; otherwise *ὁμολογίαι* are mostly used for acknowledgements of debts which are abstract (not containing the *causa*, cf. A. B. SCHWARZ, *Hom. u. Prot.* 15); but here 2,640 minas of iron are owed, without interest for the time fixed in the contract, but with interest for delay in repayment. P. Strassb. 148 (A.D. 472) is a loan *ἐφ' ὃν βούλει χρόνον* (cf. H. COMFORT, *Aeg.* 14 (1934), 80). The 'Persians of the epigone' in the Adler papp., who were servants of the god Harsemten but followed the Jewish law so far as it seemed good to them, being neither practising Jews nor genuine proselytes, but *θεοσεβεῖς*, gave loans only free of interest in conformity with Jewish law (P. Adler, p. 5). Cf. P. Adler 4, 5; 10, 10 (money); 15, 7 (wheat); 19, 8 (iron). Of the Jewish loans in P. Tebt. III, No. 817 is *ἄτοκον*, but No. 818 is a loan with interest. *Foenus nauticum* is treated by SL. CONDANARI-MICHLER, *Bodem, pignus, hypotheca, Festschr. Koschaker* III, 350–65 (on P. Rainer No. 19792, 357, n. 31).

(ii) Lease.

A house is leased in P. Strassb. 150 (3rd cent. ?). Land-lease: P. Cairo Mus. 26 (A.D. 296): application for lease; formally this is an offer, but nevertheless the doc. ends with *καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα*; P. Heidelb. 170 is revd. by C. H. ROBERTS, *Cl. Rev.* 53, 89–90: offer to lease *δημοσία γῆ*, directed to the representatives of the community, including the *πρεσβύτεροι γεωργῶν*; *κλῆρος κατοικικός* P. Ath. 14 (A.D. 22), cf. P. Ath. 15–19, the last doc. (A.D. 154) lease of land that the predecessor has abandoned: *ὅς ἀνακεχώρηκεν*. P. Cairo Mus. 27 (A.D. 304) is a receipt of rental in *natura* with the phrase: *μένοντός μοι τοῦ λόγου περὶ τοῦ προτέρου . . . ἔτους*.

(iii) Contract of service for hire.

W. HELLEBRAND, *Arbeitsrechtliches in den Zenon-Papyri, Festschr. Koschaker* III, 241–67, discusses the types, the groups of labourers under foremen, half-slaves. Their obligations are secured by oath, guarantee, written docc., *arrha*.

(iv) Sale.

(a) *Contracts for delivery (Lieferungsverträge)*.

M. HOMBERT and CL. PRÉAUX, interpreting P. Bruxelles E 7201 (A.D. 523), *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 165, discuss this mixture of sale and loan (cf. F. PRINGSHEIM, *Actes V Congr. Int. Pap.* 360) and give a list of all contracts for delivery of wine. Such a contract is P. Ath. 23 (A.D. 83) with omission of the amount of the price; the debtors are three 'Persians of the epigone', who are to deliver *ἀνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας* as in the loan P. Strassb. 147 (A.D. 98–117) and in the depositum P. Ath. 28 (A.D. 86) cf. *ἀνευ κρίσεως καὶ δίκης* in P. Adler Gr. 4, 11 and *Z. Sav.* 44 (1924), 502. P. Ath. 24 (A.D. 283) shows the same phraseology as P. Rein.

10 (111 B.C.); so persistent is the formula: ἔχειν . . . δραχμὰς . . . οὕσας λοιπὰς . . . τιμῆς κριθῆς . . . ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ἐπάνανγκον ποιήσονται οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες. It seems that a part of the price was paid in advance; perhaps an arrha was given. A. E. R. BOAK, P. Cairo Mus. 28 (A.D. 309) (*Early Byzantine Papp.*, *Ét. de Pap.* 5, 85–112), has not fully understood this contract; he supposes it to be a loan for the purchase of beans; the purpose was to enable the debtor (H.) to buy six artabs of beans; ‘in fact it seems as if H. did not actually receive the loan in cash, but in beans valued’. But in fact it is not a loan, but a contract for the delivery of beans four months after the payment of the price; the formula is: ὁμολογεῖ H. (the vendor) ἔχειν παρὰ I. (the buyer) ἀργυρίου . . . εἰς τιμὴν φασήλου ἀρτάβων ἕξ . . . ἅπερ ἐπάνανγκον ἀποδώσειν τὸν H. τῷ I. ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι . . . καὶ ἐπερωθητεῖς ὁμολόγησεν.

(b) *Sale of land.*

P. Adler Gr. 12 is an agoranomic contract of sale dated 26 October 101, and P. Adler the corresponding *συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίον* of the same sale dated 29 October 100. Other sales of land are P. Adler Gr. 1, 3 (with tax-receipt), 5, 7, 8, 9, 16–18, 20, 21; P. Adler dem. 2, 7, 8, 13, 18, 23. The translation of *προπωλήτης* as ‘negotiator’ or ‘attorney’ by the edd. is not correct; it is taken from PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, who translates ‘Unterhändler, Eviktionsgarant’; only the second term is correct, as in fact stated by P. M. Meyer whom Preisigke cites. A Byzantine contract of sale in P. Bruxelles E. 7360, *Chron. d’Ég.* 27, 161.

(c) *Sale of moveables.*

O. MONTEVECCHI, *Ricerche di sociologia nei docc. dell’ Eg. gr.-rom.*, *Aeg.* 19, 11–53, gives under III. 7 a list of contracts of sale of slaves and animals. P. Ath. 25 is a sale of a hand-mill, with the formula *τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόριφον*, rarely used of inanimate objects.

(d) *Sale by the fiscus.*

P. Ath. 37 (A.D. 138–61) and 39 (A.D. 170–1) contain petitions to the strategos who is represented by the komogrammateus, for the adjudication (*κύρωσις*) of confiscated land (*γεννηματογραφηθέντα*), sold by the fiscus; the price is paid by a bank-diagraphé.

(v) *Deposit.*

A deposit of money (*depositum irregulare*) is contained in P. Ath. 28 (A.D. 86) with reference to the *νόμος τῶν παραθηκῶν*, which orders double payment in case of delay besides the compensation of damage.

(vi) *Security of Obligations.*

(a) *Guarantee.*

A creditor discharges a guarantor from a surety bond in P. Adler dem. 15. A debtor makes secure a guarantor in P. Berl. Inv. 16374, U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 150; cf. *Aeg.* 13 (1933), 410. SAN NICOLÒ, *Zur Nachbürgschaft i. d. Keilschr. Urk. u. i. d. gr.-aeg. Pap.* (1937), is revd. by J. KLIMA, *Archiv Orientalni* 10, 466 (favourable), R. LABAT, *Rev. d’assyriol. et d’archéol. or.* 34 (1937), 196–7, and A. POHL, *Orientalia* 8, 125–6.

(b) *Paramone.*

P. Aberdeen 56 (A.D. 176) is a loan with paramone in the following terms: ἐφ’ ᾧ παραμ[ένειν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ] A. . . . [οἰκίᾳ ποιούσαν] πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμε[να ἀπὸ μη]νός . . . λα[μβάνουσαν τροφὴν κα]ὶ ἰμάτι [σμών (broken off)]; cf. ZAMBON, *Aeg.* 13 (1933), 653.

(vii) *Extinction of Obligations.*

(a) *Novation.*

P. Adler Gr. 4 seems to be a novation with change of creditor (cf. R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Z. Sav.* 51 (1931), 90). Instead of the daughter, now the father becomes the creditor: [ταῦτα δέ] ἐστιν ἡ προσωφλητό σοι πρὸς τὴν συγγραφὴν of X, your daughter. The pap. publ. by P. JOUGUET in *Mél. Desrousseaux* (75 B.C.), revd. by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 137–8, is a novation without change of creditor, but with amplification of the debt by addition of the ἡμολία.

(b) *Transaction.*

S. SOLAZZI, *Transazione e stipulatio aquiliana nei giuristi e nei papiri*, *St. et doc.* 5, 479–83, criticizing LA PIRA, *La stip. nei papiri*, *Atti del IV Congresso intern. di Papir.* 479, treats Byzantine papp.

(c) *Datio in solutum.*

P. Adler Gr. 8 seems to be in this form; the protocol of sale says: [τοῦτο] δ’ ἐστὶν πεπραμένον διὰ τὸ μὴ

ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐσταμένα. P. Adler Gr. 13 conceals that the sale of land for twelve talents aims at the repayment of a debt. But this debt of twelve talents was created by the loan of P. Adler Gr. 10. The debt had to be repaid on 20 Epeiph 101; the sale takes place on 29 Pauni 100 (cf. P. Adler Gr. 16 and dem. 28).

(d) Receipt.

The receipt P. Ath. 29 (A.D. 121) shows two singularities: the old *ὁμολογία χρήσεως* is qualified as [γῆν] καὶ φάσκομεν παραπεπτωκέναι, but without nullification, and then follows the subscription Ἰσχυρᾶς ἐπιτηρητῆς σεσημ[ε]ίωμα i.e. it is an agoranomic receipt. P. Cairo Mus. 29 (A.D. 312), *Ét. de Pap.* 5, 85, is a receipt for a loan made ἀγράφως; the repayment is made μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως, bona fide, cf. P. Gen. 46, 17 (A.D. 345); clause of stipulation in the εὐδόκησις of the original creditor.

#### E. LAW OF SUCCESSION

M. HOMBERT revs. L. COHEN, *Heredis institutio ex re certa*, with the publication of Pap. N.Y.U. Inv. II, 15 a Roman will in Greek language; comparing P. Cairo Masp. 67312 and P. Oxy. 907 he discusses whether the reform of Papinian was called for by the practice in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 187. E. SEIDL, *Die Teilungsschrift*, *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Inst. f. aeg. Alt. Kunde in Kairo* 8, 198–200, contends that these demotic documents are not wills, but orders for the division of the inheritance.

#### F. CRIMINAL LAW

P. Ath. 5 (1st cent. B.C.) is a very interesting petition on account of the violation of asylum (l. 8 περὶ τῆς βίας); the offenders are to be brought to the ἀρχιφυλακίτης, and an inquiry is ordered (ll. 3–4, ἐκοπᾶν cf. WOESS, *Asylwesen* 170). P. Ath. 33 contains a legal notice against robbers, P. Ath. 34 a medical testimonial of wounds by blows, P. Ath. 38 an hypnema to the strategos on account of a theft.

#### G. THE COURTS AND PROCEDURE

(i) Petitions.

An enteuxis to the chrematistai is contained in the unfortunately very fragmentary P. Ath. gr. 5 (1st cent. B.C.). For a petition to the strategos cf. P. Cairo Mus. 22.

(ii) Summons and an epistates.

In P. Princeton 16, revd. judiciously by H. J. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 52, 85.

(iii) Impetratio actionis.

J. C. NABER, *De actione impetranda*, *Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital.* 11, 1, utilizes papp. The same writer, *ibid.* 481, *De actione edenda*, interprets various papp., including P. Lips. 32, 33 and P. Cairo Masp. 67032.

(iv) Roman procedure.

L. WENGER, *Ist. di proc. civ. Rom. trad. R. Orestano*, is revd. by C. A. MASCHI, *Aeg.* 19, 128–9 (παῖσις, παραγγελία, δημοσίωσις). L. WENGER, *Drei Fragen aus d. röm. Ziv. Proz. R., Z. Sav.* 59, 377–89, Kap. III: *Ein Papyrus zum Verfahren de plano u. pro tribunali*, interprets P. Yale 1528 (publd. by C. B. WELLES, *JRS* 1938) and gives a new explanation of the ἀντίγραφον ἐντυχίας.

(v) Special jurisdiction.

E. BERNEKER, *Sondergerichtsbarkeit i. gr. R. Aeg.* is revd. with cautious praise by R. VILLERS, *Rev. hist. dr.* 17, 309–13.

(vi) Trials.

A fragm. report of juridical proceedings is in P. Aberdeen 17; a process before a *defensor civitatis* in Pap. N.Y.U. Inv. 181 and 182.

(vii) Judgement.

P. Adler dem. 17 and 19 show a conditional judgement depending on an oath of the party. CL. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 180–1, revng. I. CAZZANIGA, *Mél. Boisacq I* (1937), *Torbidi giudaici nell' Eg. Rom. n. secondo sec. di Cr.*, interprets the curious principle: τὸ ἐν ὀλίγοις μισούμενον οὐκ ἀδίκως ὅλης πόλεως ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα. E. BERNEKER, *Zur Rechtskraft i. ptol. Prozeßrecht*, *Festschr. Koschaker III*, 268, makes a valuable contribution to the question of judgement and abandonment of a claim (*Streitverzicht*), newly illuminated by B. M. Eg. 10591 (H. THOMPSON, *A family Archive from Siut* (1934); cf. SEIDL-STRICKER, *Z. Sav.* 57 (1937), 272). The conclusion as regards the native courts of the Ptol. period is: the sentence of the judge does not end the



procedure, only the document of renunciation with its tradition has this effect. Without such a document each party could renew the process, but the party could be enforced by administrative compulsion to draw up the doc. The doc. takes effect only *inter partes*. The whole procedure is traceable to the old Eg. procedure.

(viii) Execution.

P. Harr. 69 (3rd cent. A.D.), revd. by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 59, 121, is a petition to the ἀρχιερεύς to release a part of property because it is liable for debts; the doc. is interesting and difficult. P. Aberdeen 19 contains instructions of the chrematistai to the local officials to authorize the seizure of a security if the applicant makes good his claim and the adversary does not bring forward an ἀντίρρογος; the words [ἀν]τείπη ἐν ἡμ[έρ]αις [δέκα . . .] are important because the parallel doc., P. Berol. 11664 = P. M. MEYER, *Jur. Pap.* No. 48, l. 24 (καὶ μὴ . . . [ἀντε]ίπωσι (?)), were not a certain restoration (edd.). Only the ten days were confirmed by P. Jand. VII, 145, l. 2: δεχήμερον. A survey of the P. Adler endorses my hypothesis (*Z. Sav.* 44 (1924), 396), that the characterization of a person as Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς in a document has something to do with a special execution, whereas when such a person is not so designated, or is termed Πέρσης only, he is not liable to such an execution. The rules I tried to find out are applied to Horos, the central person in these papp., nine times; exceptions are to be found, as usual (op. cit. 426, I, a; 448) in P. Adler Gr. 5, 6, 15, 17. Other persons in P. Adler Gr. are named Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, when they are vendors (P. Adler Gr. I, II, 2; 3, II, 10; 11, II, 4; 13, II, 4; 14, 4; 16, 4; 17, 4) or debtors in a loan (6, 6; 10, 6; 19, 5); the only exception is P. Adler Gr. 13, III, 3, where the so characterized person is the buyer. As shown before (op. cit. 523, n. 4, no. 4) no Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς appears in demotic docs.; they are always called 'Greek born in Egypt'; likewise P. Adler dem. 5 and 6 speak of Horos as a 'Ionian born in Egypt', or as 'a man receiving pay among the men of Lakhes, inscribed to the hypaethros of Amūr'.

#### H. PUBLIC LAW

(i) Ptol.

(a) Ruler-cult.

U. WILCKEN, *Zur Entstehung des hellenist. Königtums, Sitzungsber. Berlin*, 1938, 298–321, holds that the cult of the Ptol. kings is Greek and is to be sharply separated from the Eg. cult of Pharaoh.

(b) Constitution and Administration.

W. SCHUBART, *Verfassung u. Verwaltung des Ptol. Reichs* (1937), revd. by P. COLLART, *Rev. de phil.* 13, 85–6, by M. ENGERS, *Museum* 46, 158–9, and by E. GRIER, *Cl. Weekly* 32, 160–1, is a popular work and contains only two pages on law.

(c) Προτάγματα.

P. ROUSSEL, *Ptolémée II et Cyrène, Rev. ét. anc.* 41, 5–18, comments on the πρόσταγμα (φιλανθρωπία) of Cyrene, publ. by OLIVIERI, *Doc. ant. Afr. ital.* II, 2, and has doubts of the editor's dating. W. OTTO and H. BENGTON, *Abh. München* 17, 26, interpret the amnesty of U.P.Z. 2, 161, Kol. 3, 57; 162, Kol. 9, 21 of Euergetes II and other φιλανθρωπίαι. This treatise is revd. by H. VOLKMANN, *Phil. Woch.* 59, 1007–16 (not seen) and severely criticized by W. SCHUBART, *Deutsch. Lit.-Ztg.* 60, 1419 (speculations instead of sober philological and juristic treatment of the texts).

(d) Smelting of the nationalities.

W. PEREMANS, *Vreemdelingen en Egyptenaren in Vroeg-Ptol. Eg.* (1937) is revd. by M. HOMBERT, *Antiquité class.* 7, 430–2 (contribution essentielle à un des plus intéressants problèmes), K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 59, 47–9 (favourable), A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.* 19, 116–17, M. ENGERS, *Museum* 46, 178–81, W. HOFFMANN, *Gnomon* 15, 242–8 (affirmative), F. OERTEL, *Z. Sav.* 59, 606–12 (accents more the diff. treatment of Greeks and Eg. by the Ptol. law), W. SCHUBART, *Klio* N.F. 14, 109–11 (assenting with reserve). H. BERVE, *Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Großen, Klio* N.F. 13, 162, n. 2, holds that Ptolemaios gave up the policy of smelting (against Kornemann, *Racc. Lombroso* (1925), 235, and *Vergang. u. Geg.* 16 (1926), 342). C. B. WELLES speaks in a paper read before the Arch. Inst. of America on *The Greeks in Egypt*, summary *AJA* 43, 408. A. HEUSS, *Stadt u. Herrscher des Hellenismus* (1937), is revd. by A. PASSERINI, *Boll. fil. class.* N.S. 9, 231–3 (more inclined to follow Bickerman), by F. R. WÜST, *Gnomon* 15, 140–9 (important critic., inclining to Bickerman, but praising the discussion of the conception of liberty in the Hellen. time), by H. BENGTON, *Deutsch. Lit.-Ztg.* 60, 561–8 (very critical, against 'constructions'), by J. A. O. LARSEN, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 44, 584 (favourable), and by E. BICKERMAN, *La cité grecque dans les monarchies hellénistiques*,

*Rev. de phil.* 13, 335–49 (detailed and critical), πολιτεύματα are discussed by W. OTTO and H. BENGTON, *Abh. München* 17, 68.

(ii) Roman.

(a) *Prefects.*

A. STEIN, *Die Praef. v. Aeg. unter Commodus. Aeg.* 19, 215–26, supplements and corrects O. W. REINMUTH, *The pref. of Eg., Klio* 34, 21. Beih. (1935), revd. by C. PRÉAUX, *Antiquité class.* 7, 442. A prefect Aelius Palladius is mentioned in an inscription of Philippe, the successor of Alexander, (374 B.C.), A. ROWE, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 531, the prefect Aninas Addaeus (cf. *Nov. Just.* 129 (551)) in P. WALTERS 1, *Am. Journ. Phil.* 60, 170.

(b) *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht.*

L. WENGER, *Rechtspraxis u. Rechtstheorie i. d. Pap. Urk., Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 15, 197–8, follows SCHÖNBAUER but holds that the *ius honorarium* (Amtsrecht), the provincial law, as promulgated by the Roman prefect, is territorial. Protagmata of Diocletian, Maximin, Konstantius, and Maximinian are mentioned in P. Strassb. 152 (A.D. 298–9).

(c) *Liturgy.*

P. Strassb. 154 (4th–5th cent. A.D.) is a complaint on account of illegal charge of a διάκων with the liturgy of an ἀπαυτήτης ἀνώνης (cf. *Cod. Theod.* 17, 2, 2 and 9). E. KIESSLING, *Der Nachtwächterdienst in Aeg., Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 15, 34–5, reports that this is a liturgical office. F. DE VISSCHER, *Le régime des liturgies des nouv. cit. rom. d'après l'Édit III de Cyrène, C.-R. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.* 114–15, holds that λειτουργεῖν τῷ σώματι means: 's'acquitter des liturgies personnelles'.

(d) *Γερονσία.*

M. HOMBERT, *Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist.* 17, 1186, reviewing *Archiv* 12, discusses E. G. TURNER, *Rylands texts and the problems of the γερονσία of Oxyrhynchus*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1939)<sup>1</sup>

By DE LACY O'LEARY

## I. BIBLICAL

A. ALLGEIER, *Die Chester-Beatty-Papyri zum Pentateuch . . .* (*JEA* 25, 94) is revd. by J. HERRMANN in *OLZ* 42, 429–33.

C. C. TARELLI has produced three interesting studies on the text of the Chester Beatty papyri: *Some linguistic aspects of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels*, in *JTS* 39, 254–9, *The Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Caesarean Text*, in *JTS* 40, 46–55, and *Omissions, additions, and conflation in the Chester Beatty Papyrus*, in *JTS* 40, 382–7.

BELL and SKEAT, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel . . .* (*JEA* 22, 94) is revd. by P. THOMSEN in *Phil. Woch.* (1939), 410–11.

W. TILL, *Kleine koptische Bibel-Fragmente*, appears in *Biblica* 20, 241–63, 341–82. Most of these are short N.T. passages, three from the O.T.

L. TH. LEFORT, *Le nom du mauvais riche* (Lc 16<sup>19</sup>) *et la tradition copte*, is a contribution in *ZNTW* 37, 65–72.

W. GROSSOUW, *The Coptic Versions . . .* (*JEA* 25, 94) is revd. by O. H. E. BURMESTER in *JTS* 40, 186–91.

## 2. APOCRYPHAL, MANICHAEAN

(a) *Apocryphal.*

L. TH. LEFORT, *Fragments d'apocryphes en copte-akhmimique*, in *Muséon* 52, 1–10, 2 pls., gives pieces from the collection of M. von Scherling, of Leiden, (1) a passage of 34 lines, not identified, and (2) four fragments of the Ascension of Isaiah. The article gives text and transl. with notes. Reference may be made also to E. FASCHER, *Petrusapokryphen*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie* (1938), 1373–81.

(b) *Manichaean.*

C. R. C. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (*JEA* 25, 94) is revd. by W. E. CRUM in *JRAS* 473–7, who notes some survivals and peculiarities of dialect, and adds suggestions. The reviewer suggests that there may have been contact between the Meletians and the Manichaeans in Lycopolis and perhaps Medinet Madi (cf. W. SESTON, *Achilleus et la révolte de l'Égypte sous Dioclétien d'après les papyrus et l'Histoire Auguste*, notd. in *JEA* 25, 83). It is also revd. by J. VERGOTE in *Chron. d'Ég.* 27, 182–3; by F. CUMONT in *Rev. d'Histoire des Rel.* 36, 378–9; by O. H. E. BURMESTER in *JTS* 40, 191–6; and noticed by H. LIETZMANN in *ZNTW* 36, 1937 (but publd. in 1938), 305–7.

C. R. C. ALLBERRY, *Das manichäische Bema-Fest*, in *ZNTW* 37 (for 1938, but publd. in 1939), 2–10, 1 pl. The article points out references made by St. Augustine to a feast on the day 'quo Manichaeus occisus est', which A. identifies with the Bema-day, or Bema, of the Manichaean homilies and Psalm Book.

Detailed studies in the *Kephalaia* appear in A. BÖHLIG, *Eine Bemerkung zur Beurteilung der Kephalaia*, in *ZNTW* 37, 13–19, and V. STEGEMANN, *Zu Kapitel 69 der Kephalaia des Mani*, in *ZNTW* 37, 214–23.

W. GROSSOUW, *De koptische Manicheese Handschriften*, appears in *Jaarbericht, no. 6 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Geselschap. Ex oriente Lux.* Leiden, 62–5.

W. SESTON, *L'Égypte manichéenne*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 28, 362–72, contains extracts from a conference at the Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 4 March 1939, a useful and comprehensive summary of the light thrown upon the Manichaean communities of Egypt by the discoveries made in recent years, well documented.

W. SESTON, *Le Roi Sassanide Narsès, les Arabes et le Manichéisme*, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. DUSSAUD*, I, 227–34.

H. C. PUECH, *Dates manichéennes dans les Chroniques syriaques*, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. DUSSAUD*, II, 593–607.

A. BÖHLIG, *Kephalaia*, Lief. 9/10 (pp. 195–244), Stuttgart, xxxii+50+51 pp., 1 pl., a fascicule which

<sup>1</sup> The date '1939' is omitted in the case of books, periodicals, &c., published in that year.

completes vol. I of the 'Kephalaia'. This fascicule contains a short *Vorwort* (iii-iv) to be placed at the beginning of the volume, a description of the manuscript by H. IBSCHER (v-xiv) and a detailed table of contents *Der Inhalt* by A. BÖHLIG (xv-xxxii). The fascicule is dated 1939, but the title-page to be put at the beginning of the whole volume is dated 1940.

### 3. LITURGICAL

O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Le lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte*, in *PO* 25, 179-485, continuation of the lectionary in *PO* 24, fasc. 2: Bohairic text of the scripture passages from Brit. Mus. Or. Add. 5997. The same writer's *The Turūhāt of the Saints . . .* (*JEA* 25, 95) is continued in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 85-157 and gives the hymns for the nine months following those already publ. These hymns are additions to the liturgy of quite secondary importance, they contain little original matter beyond the addition of a few names to the known calendar, and are quite conventional in literary form. Still it is well that they should be made accessible and so contribute to the completion of the Cop. liturgical corpus. The case is very much the same with the matter publ. in YASSA ABD AL-MASIH: *Doxologies in the Coptic Church* in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 175-91, which, however, has the added interest that it gives a series of unedited Sa'idic doxologies from vols. 13 and 14 of the Pierpont Morgan collection. It is not a continuation of the writer's article in the previous issue of the *Bulletin* (*JEA* 25, 95), though dealing with kindred material.

W. E. CRUM, *Fragments of a Church Calendar*, in *ZNTW* 37, 23-32, gives the unpubl. text of a calendar for the months Parmoute, Pashons, and Paremhatep, very different from that used in the Synaxarium in either of its known recensions: probably of the 5th cent.

MOHAMMAD AHMED SEMAAR, *Oriental Manuscripts of the Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia. A descriptive catalogue*, Philadelphia (1937), xix+289 pp., 48 pls. In this collection are two Cop.-Arabic manuscripts, a psalter (no. 29) which the editor of the catalogue refers to the 17th cent., and a lectionary (no. 126) which he dates 13th-14th cent. The catalogue is revd. by J. SIMON in *Biblica* 20, 353-4.

W. TILL u. P. SANZ, *Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift* (Pap. Copt. Vindob. K. 8706), Rom, Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 112 pp., 2 pls., no. 5 in the *Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica* series. A liturgical collection, mainly O.T. passages.

E. G. TURNER, *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the possession of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, x+116 pp., 5 pls. Four of the texts given are liturgical.

Of more general character is S. SALAVILLE, *Christus in Orientalium pietate. De pietate erga Christi humanitatem apud orientales liturgias et liturgicos commentatores*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53, 13-54.

Of the kindred Ethiopic Church may be noted, H. ENGBERDING, *Die Marienharfe der äthiopischen Liturgie*, in *Der Christl. Orient* 3 (1938), 29-33, 64-8, 92-5.

### 4. LITERARY

B. ALTANER, *Patrologie*, Freiburg i/B. (1938), xviii+353 pp., is a complete revision of Raubchen's manual (cf. *JEA* 19, 179). It contains notes of Coptic writers (162-5 and *passim*) and gives an account of the most recent publications. It is revd. by J. SIMON in *Biblica* 20, 354-5. This review continues (355-6) with an account of S. STEIDLE, *Patrologia, seu historia antiquae litteraturae ecclesiasticae*, Freiburg i/B. (1937), xvii+294 pp., which also deals with Cop. literature (pp. 96-100, 142-4). ALTANER is also revd. by R. DRAGUET in *Muséon* 52, 191-2.

J. B. BERNARDIN, *A Coptic sermon attributed to St. Athanasius* (cf. *JEA* 24, 119) is revd. by H. ENGBERDING in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53, 267. The reviewer does not consider that this homily was delivered on Friday or Saturday in Holy Week.

M. RICHARD, *Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie*, appears in *Muséon* 52, 38-50. The author enumerates no less than 67 works of Theophilus (A.D. 385-412) known by various citations, in some cases extant in Latin translations by St. Jerome, a few in Cop., Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian material.

L. TH. LEFORT, *Le Pasteur d'Hermas en copte sahidique*, is publ. in *Muséon* 51 (1938), 289-96, and 52, 223-228-xii. The text gives part of Mand and of similitudes, 2-17.

H. ELLERS, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolytus von Rom. Neue Untersuchungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Buches von L. Lorentz, De Egyptische Kerkordening en Hippolytus van Rome*, Paderborn, 1938, xix+342 pp., is revd. by H. ENGBERDING in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53, 265-6. G. DIX, *Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις, The treatise on the apostolical tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome. I. Historical Introduction, Textual Materials and Translation with Apparatus Criticus and some critical notes*, London, S.P.C.K. (1937), lxxxii+90 pp.

Sa'idic and Bohairic versions are utilized in the apparatus. Review by H. ENGBERDING in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53, 263-4.

G. GARITTE, *A propos des lettres de S. Antoine l'Ermite*, in *Muséon* 52, 11-31. Contrary to the tradition transmitted by St. Athanasius and St. Augustine, the author shows that St. Anthony knew how to write and deals with fragments of his letters in Cop., in all probability a corpus of some 24 epistles, of which some are extant also in Greek, Latin, or Arabic versions.

M. PIEPER, *Zwei Blätter aus dem Osterbrief des Athanasius vom Jahre 364* (Pap. Berol. 11, 948) in *ZNTW* 37, 73-6, gives a passage of 38 lines with transl. and nn.

J. VERGOTE, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Ecriture Egyptienne. Essai d'Interprétation de Stromates, V. iv. 20-21*, in *Muséon* 52, 199-221, is not of course concerned with Cop. or Christian Eg. but is included as the work of an Alexandrian Church Father.

P. SBATH, *Al-Fihris (Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts)*, Part I. *Ouvrages des auteurs antérieurs au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Le Caire, 1938, viii+146 pp. Inventory of Arabic writings in MSS. in private libraries. Amongst these are included works by Cop. authors. An introduction to this work, dealing specially with Cop. writers is furnished in the same author's *Manuscripts arabes d'auteurs coptes*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 159-73. The works enumerated are predominantly theological. The catalogue is planned in three volumes, vol. II will give authors of the last three centuries, vol. III the anonymous works.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *A Coptic Fragment of Melito's Homily*, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 32, 141-2. The writer identifies one of the Cop. texts (No. 17) publ. by CRUM and BELL in *Wadi Sarga* . . . (Copenhagen, 1922) as a fragment of Melito's homily corresponding to one of the leaves belonging to the University of Michigan, and expresses the hope that further fragments of Melito in Cop. will be identified.

## 5. HISTORY

### (a) Church History.

L. VAGANAY, *L'Église primitive à la lumière de papyrus*, in *Christus*, fasc. 44 (1938), 388-411.

G. HEUSER, *Prosopographie von Aegypten. IV. Die Kopten*, Heidelberg (1938), which I have not been able to see, is revd. by A. CALDERINI in *Aegyptus* 19, 263.

FR. HEILER, *Urkirche und Ostkirche (Die katholische Kirche des Ostens und Westens, I)*, Münster (1937), xx+607 pp., is revd. by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, n.s. 8, 388-91. In the second part of this volume which is devoted to the oriental churches not in communion with the Holy See, notice is taken of the Cop. Church (471-91) and of the Ethiopic Church (492-510).

A. S. ATIYA, *Egypt and Aragon. Embassies and diplomatic correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D. (Abhand. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. 23, 7)*, Leipzig (1938), 73 pp. In this interesting contribution, mostly drawn from unpubl. documents, there are several references to the Copts and to their churches in Cairo. It is revd., with some corrections, by G. P. G. S(OBHY) in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 251.

R. HERZOG, *Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis-Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums Fr. J. Dölger dargeboten*, Münster i/W., 117-24, deals with the replacement of pagan with Christian worship in Menuthis (Abukir).

L. G. MODENA, *Il Cristianesimo ad Ossirinco. Papiri letterari*, in *Bull. de la Soc. R. d'arch. d'Alex.*, Alexandria, 33, 295-310: it is revd. by E. GHEDINI in *Aegyptus* 19, 261-2.

E. KIESSLING, *A contribution to the problem of the 'Katoikoi' in Egypt*, in *Research and Progress* 4, 265-7 is a résumé of 'Streiflichter zur Katökenfrage' in *Act. congr. int. Papyrol.* (1938), 213-29.

H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Germanen in Ägypten*, in *Mitteil. d. deutsch. Inst. f. äg. Altertumsk. in Kairo* 8, 177-84 gives an account of Teutonic sojourners in Egypt from the pre-Christian period to the 7th cent. A.D.

W. TILL, *Ein saidischer Bericht der Reise des Apa Johannes nach Babylon*, in *ZNTW* 37, 230-9, gives a text from Vienna (K 9065 and 9064), with transl., nn., etc.

UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, in *OCA* 118, Rome (1938), 250 pp., 10 figs., is revd. by E. LITTMANN in *OLZ* 42, 572-7, an article which draws attention to several interesting words, e.g. (p. 134) *al-marīs* = *ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥ* (Upper Egypt) > *marisi*, the south wind: (p. 167) *ⲟⲩⲁⲛ* = Germanic *Oddo*, *Oldo*. It is revd. also by J. VERGOTE in *RHE* 35, 552-4, and by R. JANIN in *Échos d'Orient* 38, 231.

Noteworthy also is JALOU-SACQUAR, *La Chiesa Etiopica è monofisita?* in *L'Oriente cristiano e l'Unità della Chiesa* 4, 97-9.

### (b) Hagiography.

J. VERGOTE, *Les principaux modes de supplice chez les Anciens et dans les Textes chrétiens*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. Hist. belge de Rome* 20, 141-63, 2 pls., introduces evidence from a certain number of Cop. texts. The

same author's *Eculeus, Rad- und Pressefolter in den ägyptischen Märtyrerakten*, in *ZNTW* 37, 239–50, 1 pl. is a study in the Cop. Acta MM. and allied texts.

W. TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* . . . (*JEa* 21, 111; 23, 114; 24, 121) is revd. by A. BÖHLIG in *DLZ* 60, 583–4.

TOGO MINA, *Le martyre d'Apa Epima* . . . (*JEa* 24, 121) is revd. by B. G. in *Rev. Bibl.* 47 (1938), 169–71, and in *Aegyptus* 19, 113–14. D. O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt* . . . (*JEa* 24, 121) is revd. by W. TILL in *OLZ* 289–90, by J. DAVID in *RHE* 35, 87, by P. P(ETERS) in *AB* 57, 141–2, and by S. GASELEE in *JEa* 25, 123.

Of the kindred Ethiopic Church may be noted M. A. VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, *La vie de saint Za Mikā'el 'Aragāwi*, Fribourg (Suisse), 84 pp., a French transl. with introduction (9–34) and nn. (71–84) of the Ethiopic text publ. by I. Guidi in 1895. Za Mika'el, surnamed 'Aragāwi, was one of the 'nine saints' to whom Ethiopic tradition ascribes the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. The life claims that he was a disciple of St. Pakhom.

#### (c) Monasticism.

ANNA MARIA BALLINI, *Osservazioni giuridiche e recenti papirologiche sui monasteri Egiziani*, in *Aegyptus* 19, 77–88, deals with the different grades of monks, hermits, cenobites, and with the administration and organization of monasteries.

A. RÜCKER, *Die feierliche Kniebeugungszeremonie zu Pfingsten in den orientalischen Riten, Heilige Überlieferung*, Ausschnitte aus der Geschichte des Mönchtums und des heiligen Kultes dem. hochw. Herrn Abte von Maria Laach Ildefons Herwegen zum Silbernen Jubiläum dargeboten, Munster i/W. (1938), 193–211. In the Cop. rite pp. 203–4.

On Palladius may be noted, E. SCHWARTZ, *Palladiana*, in *ZNTW* 36 (1938), 161–204, and G. B. CALVI, *La storia di Palladio*, in *Salesianum*, 1, 268–79, 385–406: a popular account of the life of Palladius and the doctrinal, ascetic, and historic contents of the *Historia Lausiaca*.

L. TH. LEFORT, *Les premiers monastères Pachômiens. Exploration topographique*, in *Muséon* 52, 379–407, pls. 10–14. This deals with the identification of the sites of the more important Pakhomian monasteries, with fresh first-hand knowledge of the localities concerned. The writer identifies Seneset-Kneneboskion with Kasr es-Sayad, and places Pesterposen close by, Pbaw near the two villages known as Faw el-Bahri and Faw el-Kibli, Tabennêse possibly Kûla el-Gaza. A very valuable contribution to topographical information.

G. SOBHY BEY, *Miscellanea* 1, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 69–74, 1 pl., deals with an Arabic document concerning defective discipline in an unnamed monastery. The date is A.D. 1290.

G. GARITTE, *Un Témoin important du texte de la vie de S. Antoine par S. Athanase. La Version latine inédite des Archives du Chapitre de S. Pierre à Rome*, *Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire ancienne* publiées par l'Institut Historique belge de Rome, Tome III, Brussels and Rome, 96 pp., 1 pl. In this important and highly interesting work G. publishes for the first time, from a 10th–11th-saec. Latin manuscript belonging to the Canons of St. Peter's, the text, together with critical apparatus, of a life of St. Anthony falsely ascribed to St. Jerome. In fact, it is a literal transl. of the work of St. Athanasius, made before Evagrius and independent of St. Jerome.

#### 6. NON-LITERARY

The very strange document in G. BJÖRK, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus*, Uppsala (1938), 165 pp., 2 Taf., has attracted some attention: it appears that Sabinus had this complaint against his kinsmen placed with him in his tomb to justify himself in the other life. It is revd. by H. J. ROSE in *Class. Rev.* 52 (1938), 201, by K. H. E. DE JONG in *Museum* 46, 229, by P. COLLART in *Rev. des études grecques*, 249–50, and by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 28, 383–4.

MARIA CRAMER, *Drei koptische Grabsteine aus Unternubien*, in *ZNTW* 37, 19–23 gives three funerary inscriptions (text, transl., nn.) of the later 10th cent. A.D. The same author's *Texte zur koptischen 'Totenklage'*, in *Aegyptus* 19, 193–209, 10 pls., gives fourteen inscriptions with transl. and commentary: some are dated 8th–9th cent., but most are undated: nn. on palaeography, etc.

W. E. CRUM, *Varia Coptica*, Aberdeen, 50 pp. transl. and nn., 55 pp. (lith.) texts and indices. A collection of 130 texts from papyri and ostraca published for the first time (save three). One (no. 130) is unintelligible, probably not Cop. The material is literary (1–4), legal (5–36a), letters (37–116), and lists and accounts (117–29). Some are of great interest.

S. EURINGER, *Ein angeblicher Brief des Negus Zara Jakob vom Jahre 1447 wegen der Christenverfolgung*

in *Palästina und Ägypten*, in *Das Heilige Land* 83, 205–40. Transl. with nn. of an Arabic document publ. by P. CARALI in the *Rev. Patriarcale*, Le Caire (1930), 649 ff.

A. GROHMANN, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, Cairo, vol. III. Administrative texts, 67–95. A long Cop. text in the middle of the Arabic, interesting for the personal and place-names it contains.

E. H. KASE, JR., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collection* (cf. *JEA* 24, 122; 25, 98) is revd. by P. COLLART in *Rev. des études grecques* 51, 202–3, by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *OLZ* 42, 10–11.

K. MUNZEL, *Zum koptisch-arabischen Bauernkalender*, in *OLZ* 42, 665. Variants in three recensions of the popular calendar, i.e. Arabic terms for the Cop. months, published by E. LITTMANN in the *Abhandlungen der Herder-Gesellschaft und des Herder-Instituts zu Riga*, Riga (1938), 108–16.

J. E. POWELL, *The Rendel Harris Papyri*, Cambridge (1936), 134 pp., 1 portrait, 5 pls. All Greek texts. Revd. by K. F. SCHMIDT in *Phil. Woch.* 59, 121–9.

C. H. ROBERTS, *Catalogue . . . John Rylands Libr.* III (cf. *JEA* 25, 94), is revd. by E. G. TURNER in *JHS* 59, 161, and by M. ZERWICK in *Orientalia*, n.s. 8, 191–4.

MARCUS SIMAIKA PASHA and YASSA ABD AL-MASIH EFFENDI, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal churches of Cairo and Alexandria, and the monasteries of Egypt*, in three vols., I. Cairo, liii+181 pp., 57 pls.

J. SIMON, *Note sur le dossier des textes fayoumiques*, in *ZNTW* 37, 205–11 gives a summary of Fayyumic material at present available.

G. SOBHY BEY, *Miscellanea* III, *Funerary Stelae*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 75–80, 2 pls., discusses three funerary inscriptions, with notes on stelae generally.

E. SEIDL, *Juristische Papyruskunde*, appears in *Studia et Documenta historiae et juris*, IV, 278–89, 580–7.

TOGO MINA, *Deux stèles funéraires coptes en dialecte Bohaïrique*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 81–4, 2 pls., describes two funerary inscriptions, text, transl., and a few nn.

W. TILL, *Koptische Schutzbriefe. Mit einem rechtsgeschichtlichen Beitrag von HERBERT LIEBESNY*, in *Mittel. d. deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumsk.* in *Kairo* 8 (1938), 71–146. Revd. by J. VERGOTE in *Muséon* 52, 187–8. The same author's *Eine Verkaufsurkunde aus Dscheme* appears in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 43–59, 1 pl., and gives a Jeme papyrus of 26 lines with descriptive introduction and philological nn.

Intimately connected with Cop. literature is that of Ethiopia and here may be added S. GRÉBAUT, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule*, 1<sup>re</sup> partie (= *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, XXIX) Paris (1938), ix+320 pp., 8 pls. This collection contains 333 MSS. in Ge'ez and Amharic and has been recently added to the Bibl. Nationale. The contents are grouped in six sections: (1) Old and New Testament, (2) apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, (3) theology, (4) ascetic works, (5) liturgical, and (6) rituals. It is revd. by W. LESLAU in *Rev. des études sémitiques*, 103–4.

#### 7. PHILOLOGY

W. E. CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, Part VI (1939), 745–953, α — ϣαϣοϣϣορ, with indices to English, Greek, and Arabic words, completes a great undertaking. It is revd. by L. TH. LEFORT in *Muséon* 52, 412–15. Parts IV, V are revd. by A. BÖHLIG in *DLZ* 60, 190–1, and parts II–V by H. J. POLOTSKY in *JEA* 26, 109–12, to which reference should be made.

J. SIMON, *The decline of the Coptic Language in the Nile Valley*, in MARCUS SIMAIKA PASHA and YASSA ABD AL-MASIH EFFENDI, *Catalogue . . .* (cf. above), pp. li–liii.

W. H. WORRELL, *Zur unbezeichneten Konsonantenverdoppelung im Koptischen*, in *ZNTW* 37, 271–4, on such forms as ϣεϣϣον, ϣϣαϣ, ϣϣϣαϣ, etc.

C. KUENTZ, *Le Nom copte de la demi-aroure* appears in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 245–9. The word dealt with is ϣεϣαϣ.

#### 8. ARCHAEOLOGY

##### (a) Topography.

NABIA ABBOT, *The Monasteries of the Fayyum . . .* (cf. *JEA* 24, 119), is revd. by D. O'LEARY in *JEA* 25, 107.

AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, *Some Egyptian Monasteries according to the unpublished MS. of al-Shābushtī's Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 1–28, is apparently an expansion of a lecture given before the XX Intern. Cong. of Orientalists in 1938. It deals with eight monasteries and contains some very interesting information.

H. LECLERCQ, *Philae, les monuments chrétiens*, etc., appears in CABROL and LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, fasc. cliv–clv, 692–703.

H. MUNIER, *La Géographie de l'Égypte d'après les listes coptes-arabes*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 201-43, is a valuable contribution to Cop. topography: a list classifies the Bohairic, Sa'idic, Gk., and Arabic forms of a number of local names.

(b) *Architecture and Sculpture.*

K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Coptic influences on early Muslim architecture*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 29-42, with 7 pls. and 6 figs., is an extremely interesting study on Cop. motives preserved in Muslim architecture.

J. LEBOVITCH, *Hellénismes et Hébraïsmes dans une chapelle chrétienne à el-Bagaouat*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 61-8, with 2 pls., 2 figs., deals with some very curious features of a Christian Cop. chapel.

U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Per la storia del portale romanico*, in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, Mass., 114-24, 10 figs. The author makes comparisons between the Roman portico and that in Cop. architecture.

G. SOBYH BEY, *Miscellanea II* in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 74-5, 1 pl., describes a unique capital preserved in the Cop. Museum of Old Cairo.

G. DE JERPHANION, *L'Origine copte du type de S. Michel*, in the *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1938, 367-81. The writer detects Cop. influence in the representation of St. Michael (the archangel stands over the dragon and thrusts his lance into the monster's mouth) in the sanctuary of S. Michel on Monte Gargano in Apulia.

(c) *Textiles, Ceramics, etc.*

GRACE M. CROWFOOT and JOYCE GRIFFITHS, *Coptic textiles in two-faced weave with pattern in reverse*, in *JEA* 25, 40-7, 1 pl., 4 figs.

C. J. LAMM, *Coptic Wool Embroideries*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4 (1938), 23-8, 5 pls., is an interesting study of some specimens of embroidery in European museums, of a type hitherto little noticed. C. J. LAMM and R. J. CHARLESTON, *Some early Egyptian Draw-loom Weavings*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 193-9, 7 pls., is a study in specimens in various European and American museums.

DORA ROBERTS, *Zwei Fragmente aus Antinoë*, in *ZNTW* 37, 188-91, 2 illusts. One of these gives an ornament with amphora motive, the other is a Cop. illustration on cloth: both in the Egypt Exploration Society's collection in London.

MARCUS H. SIMAIKA PASHA, *A Brief Guide . . .* (cf. *JEA* 24, 99) is revd. by A. S. A. in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 5, 252-3.

(d) *Religion, Folk-lore, etc.*

F. CUMONT, *L'Égypte des astrologues . . .* (cf. *JEA* 24, 120) is revd. by C. H. ROBERTS in *JEA* 25, 113-15.

ELIZABETH VISSER, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam (1938), 130 pp., is revd. by MARTIN P. NILSSON in *DLZ* 60, 516-18.

P. SAINTYVES, *Saint Christophe, successeur d'Anubis, d'Hermès et d'Héraclès* (1936), 55 pp., is an attempt to trace the evolution of St. Christopher from a pagan deity, on the lines already indicated by the author's *Les Saints successeurs des dieux*. It is the subject of an art., with two illustrations, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 27, 127-30, by J. CAPART.

J. VERGOTE in *Chron. d'Ég.* 28, 324-30, gives an obituary notice of the late very distinguished scholar MGR. A. HEBBELYNCK, the founder of *Muséon* and the compiler of the catalogue of the Vatican (Cop.) MSS. Another appreciative notice is prefixed to the 1939 volume of *ZNTW*, and a third, by L. TH. LEFORT, is in *Muséon* 52, 197-8.



## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## An Alexandrian Decree of 175/174 B.C.

A REVISION of col. II of Pap. Rendel Harris 61 made recently by me has resulted in the establishing of the place where fragment 2 fits in, together with a few additional readings.<sup>1</sup> Text and translation of the document should now be given as follows:

- [Ἐν ἡμέραις κ(?) τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας τοὺς ἐν] τῇ χώρῃ κατοικοῦντας ἀπογράφεσθαι  
[τὰ σώματα τὰ ὠνηθέντα πα]ρὰ νόμον, μὴθὲν τασσομένους, μετὰ τὴν  
[ἡλικίαν σώματος ἐκάστου (ἐτῶν) ι]ε, προστιθέντας καὶ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνο-  
[μα τῶν παιδίων εἰς τὴν] ἀπογραφὴν, ἐπὶν ιε (ἔτη) γένηται, ἄγοντας  
5 [ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγορανόμων(?)], ὅπ[ω]ς τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποδῶσιν. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
[Ἀλεξανδρέας πάντα τὰ ὑπάρ]χοντα αὐτοῖς οἰκογενῇ σ[ώ]ματα ἐπὶ τῶν  
[ἀγορανόμων(?) ἀπογράφεσθαι] ἐν ἡμέραις κ, τὰ μὴ εἰς (ἔτη) ιε, προσ-  
[τιθέντας τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τ]ὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομα, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ιε (ἐτῶν)  
[σώματα κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.] Ὑστερήσαντες δὲ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τῶν  
10 [σωμάτων ὡς προστέτακτ]αι ἀπογράφεσθαι, τασσόμενοι τῇ πόλει τὸ  
[ἐπίτιμον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγ]ορανόμων ἀπογραφέσθωσαν ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς  
[νόμοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὁ β]ασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Θεὸς Φιλομήτωρ οὐ μόνον  
[εὐηργέτησε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν Ἀ]λεξανδρεῖ[αν] καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ  
[καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ σωματικά τέλη] περὶ π[ολίτ]ας εὔχρηστα πολλὰ βουλόμενος  
15 [ποιεῖν παρέδωκε καὶ εἰς π]άντας ἡ[μῶν] ἀσφαλεστάτη διαθέσει  
[τε καὶ εὐνοίαι ἐχρήσατο, | δ]εδόχθαι | [ἡμῖ]ν χρυ[σοῦ]ν ἄγαλμα βασι[λ]έως  
[Πτολεμαίου ποιεῖν πᾶν] | ἐκ χρυσοῦ | τε κ[αὶ] κατα[μερίσ(?)]σθαι τῷ γαμηλεί-  
[ῳ θησαυρῷ βασιλέως τὸ ἄγαλμα] | τοῦτο γ[ίν]η | τὸ σεμ[νόν]. Κ[ατὰ] τὰ αὐτ[ὰ] δὲ  
[τοὺς θησαυροφύλακας ἡμῶν(?)] | λαβόντα[s] | πάντα ἐκ τῆς καθη[κούσης] ἐ[κ]  
20 [τῶν κατοικούντων ἡμῖν ὠ]νῆς τῷ[ν] | τελῶν ὡς προστέτακτ]αι τὸν τῆς  
[δαπάνης λογισμὸν(?) ποιεῖν] |, καθάπε[ρ] | χρεῖη κατὰ τὰ νόμιμ]α. Θῦσαι δὲ  
[καὶ ἡμᾶς τῷ βασιλεῖ | Πτολ]εμαίῳ Θε[ῷ] | Φιλ[ο]μήτορι, ὅταν ἰδρῇ τὰ  
[νῦν πρωτοκλίσια(?), | στεφανώσ]αι δὲ αὐ[τὸν] | καὶ χρυσ[ῷ] στεφάνῳ, θῦ-  
[σαι δὲ | κ]αὶ τῇ[ι] | βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρῃ Θε[ᾷ] (?) ὥσπε[ρ] Θεῷ Φιλ[ο]-  
25 [μήτορι, | ὅ]σον | [ἀμφοτέροις ἄξιόν ἐστιν(?)] . . . . .]

Col. I. This column (cf. P. Harris, p. 41) ended, perhaps, with the following two lines:

[Τύχη ἀγαθῇ. Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων.]  
[Ἐπειδὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Θεὸς Φιλομήτωρ προσέταξεν].

[βασιλέως προστάξαντος] would also be possible, if a Ptolemaic law and not its résumé preceded the part of the town-decree which begins in II, 12.

<sup>1</sup> It is my agreeable duty to thank Professor J. E. Powell, the editor of *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham* (Cambridge, 1936), for valuable suggestions as to the restorations given here, and the authorities of Woodbrooke as well as those of the Selly Oak Colleges Library in Birmingham for giving me the facilities necessary for the revision. My restorations of the missing left-hand part of the text follow exactly the varying length of the lines that are preserved, yet may be far from the original wording of the lacunae, the probable sense of which I try to give. It should be mentioned that the text of the decree is written over the faint remains of another document which could, perhaps, be made readable with the help of an ultra-red or short-wave photograph. Cf. also for this text C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Ég.* 1937, 271, and *L'Économie Royale des Lagides* (1939), 309 f., 316; M. San Nicolò, *Krit. Vierteljahrsschr.* 29 (1939), 249 f.; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* xii (1937), 234 f.

Col. II, 1 and 6: The restoration Ἀλεξανδρέας is necessary, in my opinion, because the penalties of l. 10, if to be paid by non-Alexandrians, would not have been given to the town. For the restoration ἐν ἡμέραις κ cf. l. 7.

2: The home slaves are discussed in ll. 5 f. The words Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ of l. 5 indicate that another category of slaves was treated before, and only bought slaves are omitted in the second paragraph.

4: For the restoration παιδίων, cf. ἐπὶν ιε (ἔτη) γένηται in the same line.

5 and 7: For the restoration ἀγορανόμων, cf. l. 11.

8: For the restoration εἰκόνας, cf. l. 5.

9: Revised reading: δὲ.

14: Revised reading: π[ολίτ]ας.

15: Revised reading: π[άν]τας ἡ[μῶν].

16: Revised readings: δ[εδόχθαι] | [ἡμῶν] χρυσῶν ἀγαλμα. Frgm. 2 fits immediately below π[άν]τας ἡ[μῶν] on to the main fragment.

17: Revised readings: ἀσθαι τῷ γαμηλει-. Other possible restorations are: κατα[γγεῖλ]ασθαι, κατα[κηρύξ]ασθαι, κατα[λογίσ]ασθαι, κατα[χωρίσ]ασθαι. For the marriage of Ptolemy VI, which is mentioned in this line, cf. W. Otto, *Abh. Bayr. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Kl. N.F.* (1934), No. 11, p. 14 and, in addition, Pap. Teb. III, No. 979.

18: For the restoration ἀγαλμα, cf. l. 16. Revised readings: ν[ύ] [νύ] τὸ σεμ[νόν]. Κατά.

20: Revised reading: αἰ.

21: Revised reading: α.

23: For the πρωτοκλίσια of Ptolemy VI which are mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 21, and seem to have been connected with the royal marriage of 175/174 B.C., cf. Otto, *op. cit.* 15 f.

24: Revised readings: κ[αὶ] and ρ. Lettering as well as appearance and colour of fragment 3 fit in well with l. 24 of the main papyrus, but its position, as suggested above, is nevertheless only a possibility.

Col. III: The letter groups of the two lines read by Professor Powell belong to the lower part of col. III. A few ink spots of the earlier lines of this column are preserved in addition.

































‘[The Alexandrians] with residence in the Egyptian country-side are to register [slaves acquired] illegally [within 20(?) days] free of charges, when [each slave has reached the age of 1]5 years, and are to add the name of the mother [of slave children of this kind at the] registration when they reach the age of 15 years, and are to take [such slaves to the office of the *agoranomi*], so that “personal descriptions” may be made. In the same way [the Alexandrians], in addition, are to register all houseborn slaves under 15 years of age belonging to them within 20 days at the office of [the *agoranomi*], adding [the “personal descriptions” and] the name of the mother, and also those over 15 years [in accordance with the laws]. Those who register [the slaves] later [than it is prescribed] are to pay [the penalty] at the office of the *agoranomi* into the town’s treasury and to register in accordance with the [laws].

‘[Seeing that at the present time] the king, Ptolemy, god Philometor, not only [has done good services to our town] Alexandria and to all men, but [also conceded us the slave tax] intending to be of great benefit to the citizens, and has treated us all with the most benign grace [and goodwill], we decree that a golden image of king [Ptolemy is to be made, entirely] of gold, and that the costs of this divine [image] are to be apportioned(?) to the wedding [treasure(?) of the king]. For this [our treasurers] are to take [the whole cost] out of the income we derived from the lease of [the slave-tax] payable by [Alexandrians in the country-side] as prescribed, and are to [render account of the expenses], as may be [necessary in accordance with the laws]. In addition, [we are to] sacrifice to the [king] Ptolemy, god Philometor, when he inaugurates the [marriage banquet(?), and to crown] him with a golden crown, and to sacrifice, in addition, to the [queen Cleopatra, the goddess], in the same way as to the god Philometor, as [is the due of both of them. . .].’

The δεδόχθαι of l. 16 and the passage στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι of l. 23 prove clearly that our document is a town decree. That the *polis* which is mentioned in l. 10 (τασσόμενοι τῇ πόλει)





way Late-Egyptian words beginning with  have to be read with initial *m*, not *mʿ*, but Gunn quotes as exceptions   'be successful' for old   and   'twist' (of arms and legs), var.                            

that in all known passages the sense 'at the moment in question' suits much better than the accepted rendering 'countless times', but I cannot follow him in his statement, 'It seems clear that the word must represent *tnw zp* "every time"', to which he himself has expressed the main objection—but the *n* is difficult to account for'. It is true that Crum (*op. cit.*, 297) is able to quote three examples of *тeпpoмne* as a variant of *тпpoмne*, *тppомne*, *тepомne* 'each year', where *tnw* is clearly the origin of the first element, but I fancy that there the *ne* must be due to assimilation to the *ne* of *poмne*. I venture to suggest another explanation. All examples of *тeпcon* suggest that it is not a free adverbial expression, but that it is tacked on to a substantive or substantive equivalent as an adjective or relative clause might be. This is well seen in the example from *Kephalaia* 38 *†χειροτομια ετερε πιας тeпcan kw мeας axe пeтpabe παpαpαc*, where Polotsky exhibits the true meaning by comparing the German 'der jewels Grössere'. How would Middle Egyptian have expressed this? Clearly by 'the Great one who is in his time', cf. . Now is synonymous with , in Coptic *ετα-*, and 'the time' for 'his time' would be not unnatural. Consequently I conjecture that *тeпcan* is simply a shortening of \**εтeпcan*, the loss of the initial *ε* being due to the expression having become stereotyped and to its etymology being forgotten. But I have no parallel for the abbreviation of *εт-* to *т-*.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

### *M-s* 'pestering'

THE idiomatic uses of *m-s* with such meanings as 'tending', 'pursuing', 'persecuting' are well known. I have noted two examples in Late Egyptian where the preposition seems to convey a nuance of 'pestering' or 'importuning',<sup>1</sup> a sense which has perhaps not been pointed out before.

In *P. Anast. VI*, 17 ff., the writer complains about a steward Seba who has deprived him of his workpeople and yet is demanding their produce. The passage may be freely rendered: 'And he has taken away from me two more working-girls, saying: (18) "He has not delivered the work to the overseer of the treasury, and yet he goes so far as to stand and face me." And when they (19) ceased registering the weavers for me he set a man to pester me (*iw-f hr dit rmt m-s-i*, lit. "he set a man after me"), saying: "Produce some of the weavers' work."'

The other passage is *P. Bol. 1086*, 17 (translated by Wolf in *ZÄS* 65, 93). The writer, trying to find a Syrian, has got no satisfaction from visits to various high officials, and concludes *tw-i m-s pr hry-skt m mnt*, 'I am importuning (lit. "after") the *hry-skt* every day, saying: "Produce the Syrian farmer belonging to the temple of Thoth, whom you have received . . ."'

In both cases the sense of 'persecute' does not fit, and some such notion as 'pestering' seems inevitable.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the sentence in *oratio recta* which follows begins in both cases with 'Produce!', which suits an importunate request well.

To be compared with this is a demotic use of *m-s* in which (cf. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 354) 'to be behind' comes to mean 'to compel'. A case closely resembling the Late-Egn. examples occurs in Col. A, line 11 of a very interesting demotic gardening contract published above in this *Journal* by Richard A. Parker. After instructions from mistress to gardener comes *mtw-k tm dit hpr-y m-s-k n-im-f*, which Dr. Parker translates 'and you are not to cause me to compel you to do it', and which would admit a rendering 'you are not to make me pester you about it'.

ALEC N. DAKIN.

<sup>1</sup> Colloquial English, of course, offers close parallels, e.g., for the sense 'tend', 'You can't always have your mother behind you' (or 'looking after you'), and for 'pester' cf. 'The boss is always after me to get this job done'.

<sup>2</sup> The difference between 'pestering' and 'persecuting' is perhaps chiefly one of degree, the former stopping short of threats and violence; at the same time only the stronger party can 'persecute', while a fly could 'pester' and a widow was 'importunate'.

## †ογο(ε)ῖ

MR. DAKIN has kindly drawn my notice, in connexion with my note on this verb in *JEA* 25, p. 171, to a handful of examples where the meaning 'go about seeking, seek' is unsuitable. They are:

(a) Zoega, p. 337 (quoted by Crum, *Dict.*, 472 a; cf. Blackman in *JEA* 16, 70, n. 6): **τεσριμε δε πεс†ογοι εсϣиηε ηсωϣ.**

(b) Mk. vi, 6: **περ†ογοι δε πε ρηῖ†με ετᾰπερκωτε εϣ†εῖω** i.e. *καὶ περιῆγεν τὰς κόμας κύκλῳ διδάσκων.*

(c) P. A. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 247: **εγ†ογοι ᾰπεροϣ ᾰπτεϣиη ρᾰᾰ ма пм.**

These two last examples also are cited by Crum (*loc. cit.*); and Mr. Dakin's observation that the meaning 'seek' is tautological in (a) and impossible in (b) and (c) is true. Who can deny it?

Nevertheless **†ογο(ε)ῖ** means 'seek': if you fish out from all the cases given by Crum those where 'seek' is wrong there still remain a number where it can mean nothing else; and to them may be added those in the Manichaean books which I have adduced. The verb **†пог(о)ει, ᾰпог., πεκογ.,** etc., means 'go forward, progress, go about': the verb **†ογ(о)ει** means 'seek'; and it was human carelessness, rather than frailty of understanding, that led them to confuse the two. I can give another instance of each (i) G. Garitte, *À propos des Lettres de S. Antoine l'Ermite*, in *Le Muséon* LII, 1939, p. 23, note 45: **παῖ ενταγ†περογοῖ εροϣ ρᾰπερϣηт τηρῃ** 'ceux qui . . . se rendent à lui de tout leur cœur'; (ii) J. Vergote, *Zwei koptische Fragmente einer unbekannten patristischen Schrift*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, IV, 1938, 49: **παῖ εтхρω ᾰπετεϣεμμε εροϣ ριτῖтаисϥεсис ᾰθε ᾰρεпхαγμοεит аγω εϣхωте εροϣи епетрип ριτῖпетоϣонῃ εῃολ оγ те тeхpиa εεиηε εтмнте εхппаῖ ᾰпeфoзoс и псῖᾰптeιoγoι ᾰттeωмeαpиa п[аῖ] (so I would suggest) ещaγх[и] мoεит ρηтп ρиτῖᾰщωλῃ пaисϥeтoп eρaῖ εхᾰптeтoγoтῃ[ε]тaисϥeсис · аγω кемннше он ᾰρωῃ εхппаῖ паῖ етсγпpиcтa ᾰпщaжe ентaпxоoϣ етe паῖ пe жe тoγcиa ппoнpа етмoхс мῖтῖпфγсис ещaпкaтaλaмῃaпe ᾰмoс ρитῖпeтeпepтeи ᾰρηтῖ cωмaтикoс.** Just so: 'he who uses what knowledge his senses give him as a guide and forces his way in to that which is unseen by means of that which is seen,—what need has he to bring in over and above this (i.e. the knowledge his senses give him) the methods and researches of geometry, which lead us by means of traced lines seen by the sensual eye up to that which surpasses the senses? There are also a great many other things in addition to these which support my assertion that the intellectual essence which is mixed with our nature is apprehended by us by means of those things which work on us physically'. In fact, **† пог(о)εῖ** has to do with the foot, **†ογοι** concerns the eye.

C. R. C. ALLBERRY.

## NOTES AND NEWS

It is unfortunate that the new Editorship of this *Journal* should have had to coincide with a reduction of its size and with the replacement of the two annual parts by one. But the exigencies of the times are such that we must congratulate ourselves if our efforts to compensate the Members of the Egypt Exploration Society for their continued support do not come to a complete standstill. For the early production of the present volume we are deeply indebted to the Printer of the Oxford University Press, who has seconded the efforts of the contributors with his usual zeal and interest. It is only fair to the outgoing Editor (Professor Gunn) to state that a large proportion of the articles appearing here were obtained by him and have benefited greatly by his careful reading of the proofs, a task in which Mr. A. N. Dakin has ably assisted him, while others are due to the zeal of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner. The Committee of the Society desire to place on record their great appreciation of Prof. Gunn's long services in connexion with the *Journal* and their hope that his release from that arduous duty will enable him the more fully to prosecute his own researches, by which Egyptologists will not fail to benefit greatly.

The younger British Egyptologists have necessarily been diverted from their science to war-work, and it is left to the older ones to 'carry on'. For this reason we have had especial pleasure in welcoming assistance from our American friends, as well as from our indefatigable Czechish colleague Dr. Černý. A signal service has been rendered by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in putting up most of the money for printing the interesting Demotic document here edited by Dr. Parker, who himself too has generously consented to bear a portion of the cost. It is, of course, not merely the *Journal* which suffers by the transference of energy to the more immediate needs of the country. The volume on the excavations at El-'Amarnah by Messrs. Pendlebury and Fairman is practically complete in manuscript, but no further progress can be made at the moment. Also Mr. Fairman's reports on the Nubian digs at Sesibe and Amāra West have had to be discontinued for the time being, and the half-complete fourth volume of *Temple of Sethos I at Abydos* must remain in that state until better times. On the other hand we must congratulate ourselves that important enterprises of our President, the late Sir Robert Mond, have advanced far towards their final goal of publication, thanks largely to the liberality of Lady Mond. Nor must a tribute be withheld from Mr. Oliver H. Myers, to whose energy and keenness it is due that *Temples of Armant*, in two volumes, has been published since these *Notes* first went to the Printers. We understand further that Mr. N. de G. Davies's edition of the important Theban tomb of Raḥmosē, on the excavation and restoration of which Sir Robert lavished so much time and money, is also not far from completion. Lastly Part XVIII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri is very nearly ready to be issued.

That during the season of 1939-40 archaeological work in Egypt itself has not only been pushed forward with ardour, but also conducted with signal success, is little short of miraculous. The following account is compiled from information provided by Dr. Černý: 'The French Institute at Cairo has given up the concession at Medamūd, where MM. Robichon and Varille had found, in the previous season, a most curious shrine of the First Intermediate Period, and has started upon systematic excavation of the temple of Mont at Karnak. Thus far the dig has yielded only the traces of a temple called Khaṯ-em-Māte and dedicated to Amūn by Amenophis III; the god Mont is not mentioned until much later, his name occurring commonly on blocks of Ptolemaic date. Under the pavement the excavators M. Varille and Mlle Desroches found a number of blocks emanating from a square-pillared and rather important monument of Amenophis II, together with others bearing geographical inscriptions from a small temple of Amenophis I resembling that of Sesostris I so brilliantly reconstructed by M. Chevrier. Among the Ptolemaic fragments is a representation in



relief of the sacred bull of Mont. The most important finds of the New Kingdom are (1) a seated statue of Amūn holding before him the kneeling figure of Amenophis III clad in the costume of the *Sed*-festival, and (2) a fragmentary stela of Haremhab concerning the restoration of the temples of Thebes.

'At Dēr el-Medīnah M. Bruyère continued his work and cleared the area north and east of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple, adding a number of new chapels to the forty or so found in previous seasons. All are dedications to the Theban divinities by the workmen settled in the village to the south of the aforesaid temple. Among the chapels to the north the most conspicuous are one dedicated under Sethos I to Amūn and Hathōr and another, with fragments of painting on stucco, devoted to the cult of Amenophis I and Nofretari. To the east of the temple enclosure was found another large chapel of the reign of Ramesses II. Scattered amidst the chapels were discovered fragments of the large statues that once adorned them. There was one of Penhasi, who was Vizier under Menephtah; he is shown standing behind a throne upon which a king and queen, smaller in size than himself, are seated. There were also statues of the two Viziers Pesiūr and Neḥi; the latter was not known hitherto, unless perchance his name is a shortening of that of Penhasi. The finds included a headless painted statue of the cow of Hathōr, many fragments of stelae, offering-tables, ostraca, papyri, &c., as well as a large rectangular granite offering-table of Harwa, a personage of late date who is well known.

'At Kurnet Murrai M. Baraize cleared the tomb of the well-known Royal Son of Kush Mermosē, who flourished under Amenophis III, discovering in it an anthropoid coffin on its sledge, both of granite. M. Baraize also busied himself with restorations in the temple of Dēr el-Baḥri'—where (as we regret to learn from a different source) one fine sculptured head of Queen Aḥmosē has recently been smashed, and another stolen.

'Professor Sami Gabra, excavating on behalf of the University Fuad I at Tūna el-Gebel, cleared yet another entrance to the subterranean galleries with mummies of ibises and cynocephalous apes, bringing up the number of entrances to three. The new gallery revealed also the tomb of a High-priest of Thoth named 'Ankhḥōr, who is believed to have lived about 500 B.C. A large number of votive offerings in bronze and fayence represented ibises of some size, monkeys, Osiris, &c., and among the other finds were several papyri written in Old Demotic of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and with the seals still intact.

'The Italian excavations at Arsinoe (Sheikh 'Ibāda) began rather late; those of the French Institute at Tōd were on a small scale only.

'At Saḳḳārah the Service des Antiquités continued its clearing of the causeway that leads up to the pyramid of Unas. Blocks were found bearing interesting reliefs, among them a scene of famine. Mastabas and rock-cut tombs of the Fifth Dynasty were discovered on either side of the causeway, especially to the south. Other mastabas came to light near that of Idut to the south of the enclosure of King Djoser.

'At Tanis Prof. Montet, working for the University of Strasbourg, opened the tombs of the Kings Psusennes and Amenemopē. These lay close together, accessible from a common ante-chamber, whilst in a third chamber was found an apparently unused sarcophagus. The sarcophagus of Psusennes was rectangular and of granite and had been usurped from Merenptah. Inside it was an anthropoid coffin of black granite, and within this again a coffin of silver, likewise anthropoid. Of the last-named only the lid was well preserved, the rest having fallen to pieces. Owing to the humidity nothing remained of the Pharaoh himself except his bones, but on these lay a plate and a mask, both of gold. Near the sarcophagus were the four Canopic jars, of alabaster with gilded lids, and there were also a number of vases of gold and silver of unusual shapes, most of them bearing inscriptions of the king and of other members, male and female, of this family of the Twenty-first Dynasty. One golden vase was inscribed with the name of Aḥmosē of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Among the objects upon the mummy were many jewels, golden sandals, two pairs of armbands, necklaces of gold and lapis lazuli (one bead with a cuneiform inscription), sacred eyes, a dagger, &c. The burial of Amenemopē was similar, but slightly less rich. He too possessed a mask and jewels, among the latter two armbands with the name of Psusennes.'

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift (Papyrus Copt. Vindob. K. 8706).* By WALTER TILL and PETER SANZ. Rom, Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1939. 112 pp., with facsimiles. 60 lire.

Amongst the earliest instruments of Christian worship were collections of 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs'. W. Christ, in the introduction to his *Anthologia graeca carminum Christianorum*, p. xx, says: 'Psalms Davidis duplici nomine ψαλμῶν καὶ ὕμνων (referring to Eph. v, 18 and Cor. III, 16) significatos sentio, quod et psalli solebant et laudes dei optimi maximi continebant, reliqua autem carmina veteris Testamenti, velut cantica Mosis et Annae et trium puerorum, apud posteros quoque scriptores odas audiunt'. To these were naturally soon added the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Benedictus*, still used in the daily offices of the Book of Common Prayer.

This is a publication of a fragmentary bilingual *Odarium*, a parchment codex, which may be reasonably dated in the second half of the sixth century. The Greek text is on the whole near that of the Codex Alexandrinus: the authors collect other examples of the Coptic *Odarium*, and point out the variants in the present text, which is in a pure Sa'idic dialect, with one small variation in a verbal inflexion.

Both Greek and Coptic texts are very fragmentary, but the editors have deciphered and expanded them with great patience and ingenuity, and have produced a result of considerable interest, both textual and liturgical.

STEPHEN GASELEE.











*Philonis Alexandrini in Flaccum.* Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by HERBERT BOX, Lecturer in Classics in the University College of Hull. Oxford University Press, 1939, 8vo. lxii + 129 pp. 12s. 6d. net.

This is an admirable edition of Philo's polemic against Flaccus, which is our main piece of literary evidence for the struggles between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria and for the legal position of the Jewish *politeuma* there. The subject is one on which a great deal of light has been thrown by the papyri; and the great merit of this edition is that it provides copious references to and extracts from these documents, and so enables the reader to check Philo's often highly tendentious story by contemporary evidence. Dr. Box himself shows an admirably judicial temper in assessing the grounds of the quarrel on both sides, which is at no time an easy task. His translation is excellent; it succeeds in being readable and yet conveying a good impression of Philo's almost intolerable turgidity. My only serious criticism is the statement (p. xlii, n. 1) that *Carabas* (the name of the Alexandrine half-wit dressed up as a king as an insult to Herod Agrippa) is the same name as *Barabbas*. The latter is a well-authenticated Jewish name (cf. Strack-Billerbeck on Matt. xxvii. 16) and not the same as *Carabas*, if that name means 'cabbage'. And it seems doubtful whether the mockery of Jesus must be regarded as the enacting of a mime on the ground that such an action would have been stopped by the officers as disorderly, unless it had been sanctioned by tradition; the discipline of the auxiliaries in Palestine does not seem to have been very strict. Dr. Box is to be congratulated on producing a book which should serve for many years to come as a standard work on the relations of the Jewish colony in Alexandria to the Roman government and the Greek population.

WILFRED L. KNOX.



*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* Part VIII. Edited by I. E. S. EDWARDS. London, The British Museum, 1939. Small fol. ii + 58 pp., 50 pls. 36s.

Mr. Edwards and the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities are to be congratulated on the excellence of this volume. No one who examines it and compares it with earlier parts of the same series can doubt the wisdom of their decision to abandon line-drawings and hand-copies in favour of photographic plates. In the case of well-preserved reliefs or inscriptions no line-drawing, however well executed, can reproduce the quality and technique of the original so well as a good photograph. On the other hand, where an inscription is badly damaged the value of a photograph is much more doubtful. Fortunately, most of

the monuments here published are in good preservation, and as Mr. Edwards has also given a copy of every inscription in hieroglyphic type there should be no doubt as to what is to be read. The photographic plates are of a remarkably high standard, despite the difficulty of some of the subjects, and contribute in no small degree to the value of the book. Mr. Edwards has clearly been at pains to present accurate copies of the texts and to preserve the relative positions of signs so far as the limits of his hieroglyphic fount will allow. The reviewer has noted a few errors in the printed texts: p. 5 (= Pl. 5, l. 10), for  read ; p. 24 (= Pl. 21, l. 11), for  read ; p. 33 (= Pl. 28, l. 19), for  read ; p. 48 (= Pl. 39, l. 2), for  read  (det. of *hms*); l. 13 for  read .

The fifty-five monuments of which the inscriptions are published in this volume are all of the New Kingdom, the majority belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Mr. Edwards has supplied a full description of each one, together with a note on the provenance and a select bibliography where possible. An index of names and titles might usefully have been added.

Among the objects published for the first time is the beautiful anthropoid sarcophagus of grey granite belonging to Merymosē, Viceroy of Nubia under Amenophis III (Pls. 16–17). The statement on p. 15 that this sarcophagus came from Semnah is surely a mistake. According to Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 338, n. 1, it was found by Harris at Thebes, and as cones and other funerary objects belonging to Merymosē have been found scattered about near the tomb of Huy (Davies, *The Tomb of Huy*, pp. 1, 34), the tomb of Merymosē must have lain somewhere in the neighbourhood, at Kurnat Mur'ai, Thebes.

The title given to Pl. 27, 'Inscribed panel from the tomb of   Herun-em-ḥeb (*hrn-m-ḥb*)' will seem strange to those who have not yet accustomed themselves to the presence of the Palestinian god Haurōn in the Egyptian pantheon. Mr. Edwards may be right—there is some evidence on his side—and in ten years' time we may all speak quite as naturally of King Herunemḥab as most of us do now of King Haremḥab, but at present the matter is still controversial. A reference to the current literature on the problem (e.g., Montet and Bucher, *Rev. bibl.* 44, 153 ff.; Albright, *AJSL* 53, 1 ff.), and a note explaining that the man referred to was the general who afterwards became king, his name being usually read Haremḥab, would have been helpful. As it is, the inconsistency between Mr. Edwards's transcription and the rendering 'Heremḥeb' given by Mr. Sidney Smith in the Preface is left unexplained.

But these are small points of criticism, and we look forward with pleasure to further Parts.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

*The Politics of Philo Judaeus, Practice and Theory.* By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, with a general bibliography of Philo by HOWARD L. GOODHART and ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. Yale University Press, 1938. xii+348 pp., 8 pls. 3.75 \$.

Students of Philo owe an enormous debt to Professor Goodenough and Mr. Goodhart for the monumental bibliography of Philo which they have drawn up, ranging from the manuscripts to articles in periodicals as recent as 1937.

Professor Goodenough's examination of Philo's 'politics' is amazingly ingenious; I wish I could say that I find it convincing. Philo's attacks on arrogance, as exemplified by Jethro and Joseph, are intended to be read by Jews as attacks on Rome and Roman governors; that Philo's attacks in *De Somn.* ii. 59 refer to the Romans 'is not only inherently probable, but is made certain by his parallel description of Trimalchian festivities in his *De Vita Contemplativa* 48 ff., where the banquets he is describing are called, when given by the Greeks, imitations of Italian extravagance'. Similarly, the fact that Joseph is *ἐντρέπωνος* while the LXX does not call him so, proves that Philo has the Roman prefect in mind, since this is a common title for him. Again Joseph and Jethro are sometimes bad and sometimes good; therefore they sometimes refer to bad governors and sometimes are intended as advice for good ones.

I do not think that these are unfair specimens of Professor Goodenough's arguments. The first is from the particular to the universal (yet it produces certainty!). The second merely shows that in writing an account of Joseph you would naturally use the popular name for the prefect of Egypt in view of the resemblance of the positions. The third simply shows that Philo had in the case of Jethro to reconcile a bad name with a good man; in the case of Joseph he had to do justice to the story of Genesis, but at the same time he includes a traditional Jewish midrashic element, for which Joseph represents Ephraim and so Samaria. Such a task might seem hard to those who care for consistency, but I see no reason to suppose that Philo had more regard for consistency than the compiler of Berešith Rabbah.      WILFRED L. KNOX.

*Handbook for the study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia.* By Dr. J. SIMONS. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1937. xvi+224 pp., with frontispiece, 6 figures, 23 plans, 36 diagrams.

In this careful and detailed study Dr. Simons has collected almost all the known Egyptian Topographical Lists that refer to Western Asia, and has produced a work that will remain for many years as the standard authority. Simons naturally covers much of the ground that has been dealt with by Jirku in his *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen*, but in far greater detail, though with much less emphasis on identifications, and his work is much superior to Jirku's in that it gives the hieroglyphic texts with detailed commentary upon them, and in the emphasis laid on the positions and layout of the texts. It should be pointed out that this volume has a limited scope: it has little concern with the identifications of place-names, and it is concerned solely with the topographical lists and does not deal with the names contained in other Egyptian historical and literary texts, which are to be dealt with in another volume. Since Simons's work was completed one further short list has been published by Fakhry in *Annales* 37, 39-57: Fakhry considers these to be fragments of a list of Amenophis II, but it seems more likely that they are of Tuthmosis III. More recently larger lists of Asiatic and African names have been discovered in the Society's excavations at 'Amārah West. These 'Amārah lists, which will shortly be published in detail, are ostensibly of Ramesses II, but have little or no connexion with the Ramesside lists and seem to be related to the lists of Amenophis III at Sulb, whence it is possible they may have been copied.

In a brief introductory section are notes on the types of topographical lists, the historical value of the lists, and the syllabic orthography and transliterations. With reference to the value of the lists mention must be made of Noth's valuable series of papers *Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien in Zeitschr. des Deut. Pal.-Vereins*<sup>1</sup> 60, 183-239; 61, 26-65; 277-304, which are of outstanding interest with special reference to the lists of Tuthmosis III, Sethos I, and Shoshenk.



The greater part of the book, however, is divided into two main portions. In the first the lists are treated in chronological order, their positions are described and illustrated by means of plans, and information of a general character is given, together with brief historical summaries. The second portion is occupied with the lists themselves: first diagrams show the layout of the texts, next come hieroglyphic transcriptions (it is a great pity that the signs should be so small and the forms so atrocious), and finally critical and comparative notes and transliterations. These two sections are followed by a map of Egypt, a plan of Karnak, an addendum in which some additional short lists are printed together with cross references to Jirku's work, and last of all an excellent index of names (all in transliteration) with a few identifications and with cross references to the work of Borée, Burchardt, Gauthier, and Albright.

It is an immense advantage to have at last almost all the topographical lists within one cover, but it is a thousand pities that the lists themselves should be of such unequal value. This very considerable mass of material has been gathered from many earlier publications, but there is no sign of Simons's having ever checked or collated a single text with the original. He is dependent on the publications of many scholars from Rosellini and Champollion to the Chicago Oriental Institute, or on photographs of unpublished texts. These authorities are of very unequal accuracy, and when it comes, as in lists XIII, XIV, and XXIV, to trying to interpret and disentangle palimpsest texts on such a basis, the results, though Simons has been most careful and painstaking, must have a very limited value. All these texts and Simons's deductions urgently need checking face to face with the original lists, even in those unhappily far too frequent cases where the texts have suffered since the first copies were made.



How uncertain a guide photographs can be is shown in two cases in which Simons has made errors. He has placed List I c (of Tuthmosis III) on the north-west face of the seventh pylon at Karnak, relying on the statement of Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 54, nos. 14, 15, and ignoring the indications given previously by Sethe and Müller. Noth (*ZDPV* 61, 27, n. 1) has pointed out that this is wrong, and that the text is actually on the north-east face of the pylon. Miss Moss, in answer to an inquiry, confirms that 'the Asiatic list on Pylon VII should be at (12)-(13), and the African list at (14)-(15), and not as they are given in the Bibliography'. The error is the more inexcusable since Simons actually quotes photographic reproductions of the north-west pylon, all of which show clearly that the texts on that section are African, and it is clear that he could not have studied them carefully when making his diagrams. In addition to Capart, *Thèbes*, 233, fig. 151, which is list I c African (not Asiatic as Simons says), see also Jéquier, *L'Architecture*, pl. 56, 2, and Pillet, *Thèbes: Karnak et Louxor*, fig. 75 on p. 93, and, less clearly, fig. 77 on p. 96. Simons's plan ii (p. 30) and plan xxiii (Appendix II, p. 189) must be corrected accordingly.



<sup>1</sup> Quoted hereafter as *ZDPV*.

The same incomplete study of photographs has led Simons into error in regard to the layout of List I *b*. The photographs which he cites on p. 30, to which should be added Pillet, *op. cit.*, fig. 78 on p. 97, show clearly that the fourth row from the top differs from his diagram. To the left of No. 12 is a head and part of a cartouche, apparently corresponding to the missing 11, and beyond that another head is preserved, after which there is room for two more ovals. This line must have originally contained 6 names, and not 2 as Simons states. The correct layout of the text, therefore, is that given by Noth in *ZDPV* 61, 34.

Apart from points of detail which are listed below, there are a number of other mistakes and misprints in the text. Throughout the printed part of the text  is consistently and wrongly used instead of  which is apparently never used in print in this volume. In the map on p. 188 there are several errors: in the portion dealing with the Theban area read 'Medinet Habu. Lists XXVII-XXXI', and under 'Karnak' the first two entries should be I-VII and X-XIV; at the bottom of the page the Soleb list is IX, not X. On p. 194, bottom, read Amarna for Armana.


The following are a number of points and errors which I have noticed:


List I. 30 *b*, *c*, and 37 *a*, *b*, *c*: Simons substitutes  for Sethe's .


106 *a*: Sethe has  and not simply .


178: Sethe and Müller add  at the end.

191: The lacuna at the end does not exist in Sethe's and Müller's copies.

192:  is badly bracketed: a portion of the upper part of the sign is visible.







List V. 18: the final  does not agree with the broken and uncertain sign in Müller's copy.














List VI. 2:  at the end is omitted by Simons, but is clear in Müller's copy and photograph.













21: from the photograph there hardly seems room for the lacuna inserted by Simons between ? and |.










List IX. Simons's statement (p. 48, top) is somewhat misleading. Most of the columns in Hall C have fallen, but it is reasonable to suppose that all bore lists of names, and excavation would probably reveal more names. During a recent visit to Sulb I was able to make hasty copies of some texts, though not of all that were visible, and the following remarks are based on my notes.












Series *a* (from col. 13 in Lepsius's plan). Simons's diagram is misleading and gives the impression that there was a double change in the direction of the figures. This is not so: Simons's 10 follows immediately after 5; he is correct in placing 9 and 10 back to back. The correct numbering and arrangement, therefore, is 10(9); 9(8); 8(7); 7(6) → ← 1(1); 2(2); 3(3); 4(4); 5(5); 6(10) (Simons's numbers in brackets).






















2:    is correct; 6(10): the same spelling at 'Amārah West (N. 5); 9(8):    is correct. It should be noted that here and throughout the other lists Simons's arrangement of the signs does not always conform with that of the original.

Series *f* (from col. 22 in Lepsius's plan). Simons's 1, 5, 6, and 7 are on a fragment of a drum, and his 2 is on another piece, which bears two additional names. The correct arrangement and numbering would appear to be: 7(5); 6(4); 5(3) → ← 1(1); 2(2); 3(-); 4(-). 1: should read      ; the name occurs at 'Amārah West (N. 21) as   |   . 2: the first sign is  and not  as given by Simons.



3(-): the reading is      : it is clearly the same name as       at 'Amārah (N. 23). At 'Amārah this name is preceded by *dr* (N. 22) and is followed by a very badly damaged name (N. 24),





which may have been *kpn*. 4(-):     = N. 22 at 'Amārah: only the extreme right-hand tip of  is preserved. 6(4): Lepsius's reading     is correct: the same spelling is found again in N. 25 at 'Amārah.

Series *g* (from col. 21 in Lepsius's plan). 2: rather doubtful: there appears to have been a small, rectangular sign in front of each ; the first small sign may be a damaged  but is most uncertain. If this observation is correct, the suggested equation (see p. 181) with No. 12 in list XXVI must be abandoned. 3: only the bottom of  is visible; I thought I could distinguish a feeble trace of  low down. 5:      is clear: Simons's final  is not visible, though there is room for it. 6: Simons's final  is not to be seen, though there is room for it.

Series *b* (col. 5 in Lepsius's plan). For the third name I read                       



*Series h* (from col. 20 in Lepsius's plan). I have no notes on this, but since it is on the south side of the hall the names are in all probability African.


*List XIII.* 53: the note on this (p. 139) misrepresents Müller, who only gives  at the end. 65: Müller's copy, as against Simons, gives  clearly.



*List XIV.* 54: Müller gives clear traces of  , omitted by Simons. 67: Simons does not indicate the possibility of there having been  after , cf. Müller.



*List XVIII.* It is over-bold to assign the lists at Sesebi to Sethos I without at least mentioning the possibility that they may be of Akhenaten. The topographical lists at Sesebi are so brief that there is hardly enough material for comparative purposes. It is significant that Sesebi and Sulb, the latter under Amenophis III, are the only sites known to have topographical lists on columns, and the African names seem to be more closely connected with Sulb than with any other site. The probability is that either the lists were cut during the reign of Akhenaten, or that, if they date to Sethos I, they were copied from the Sulb lists.





The description of the position of the lists, taken from Lepsius, is wrong. The three remaining columns at Sesebi form part of the second (western row) of columns in the pronaos, not the eastern row. There are two columns north of the axis, and one south of the axis, the missing column being the southernmost, not the northernmost column. The Asiatic list is found on the middle column which really stands immediately on the north side of the axis (the northernmost column has no topographical list) and the first column south of the axis has African names: cf. the correct plan in *JE* 23, pl. xiv.

*List XIX.* 8: at the end Müller gives  and not simply .








*List XX.* 12: the lacuna under  does not exist in Müller's copy.









*List XXII.* 6: the end of this name is not very clear in the photograph (frontispiece), but appears to be . 12: the photograph shows  clearly.

*List XXIII.* Who would imagine from Simons's copy that the damaged groups in 30 and 31 read  ?

*List XXIV.* 40: the last two signs according to Müller are  ; Simons has mistaken the detailed drawing of  for .

*List XXXIV.* The preliminary remarks that accompany this list (pp. 90-101) are unusually detailed and valuable. It is refreshing to note Simons's plea for more confidence in the value of this list, a plea which is supported by Noth's more recent study in *ZDPV* 61, 277-304. It should be noted that Noth, unlike Simons, does not support the current view that many of these names cover two ovals, and his remarks on the words discussed in § 7 (p. 97) throw fresh light on this question, and appear quite convincing.
























Simons is undoubtedly right (p. 96) in stating that Müller's suggested   is the most plausible explanation of the name     (No. 29), but his criticism of it is hardly logical. There was no need for the Egyptian scribe to write the article *p* since he was not translating the word into Egyptian, but was transliterating a foreign word into hieroglyphs. Thus to have written *p* would have been not only unnecessary but wrong, and  seems a very reasonable approximation to the Hebrew article. The reference to the occurrence of *p* at the beginning of other words in the list is beside the point: all these words are what Noth has called 'appellative' and it would seem that as loan words they had become so firm a part of Egyptian that in the list they were treated as Egyptian names with the Egyptian article and not as transliterations of foreign words as in the case of the other names, *ngb* for instance is known in Egyptian texts from the time of Tuthmosis III and the other words may have been equally familiar.

The discussion of the ending  is inconclusive, but at least Simons is undoubtedly right in denying that it represented either the Aramaic *status emphaticus* or a Semitic feminine ending. It seems to have no real phonetic value. The other ending  seems clearly to have no phonetic value and may be compared with the meaningless  and similar writings added to most geographical names in late times. It is significant, too, that  occurs without any sound value in  as the first element in the spelling of the word *ibr* (No. 122). It should be added that Simons seems incapable either of drawing or printing  correctly, and great confusion exists. Usually  is printed or drawn in the wrong way: only once in the autographed lists does he draw the group correctly (108), in the other cases (87, 93, 98) he is wrong. In the printed portion the ending varies: 93 is printed wrongly on p. 99; 98 is printed correctly on p. 99 but inaccurately on p. 101, and 108 is printed inaccurately on p. 99 also, though in the autographed portion it is copied correctly. In 122 also the first element is  and not as Simons gives it.

Simons omits on pp. 92, 94, 178 all reference to Müller's published photographs of this list (*Egyptol. Res.*

1, pls. 86, 87). These photographs include the tenth row, which Simons says (p. 92) is never included in the published photographs.

Finally, some notes on the transcriptions:

12: on the proposed identification of this name with IX *g. 2*, see the remarks above on the latter name.  
 26:  is omitted after , though it is clear in the photograph and in Müller's copy. 55: *p'* *k-t-t* does not seem to be the 'only possible reading' of this name. To read it thus means that the Egyptian scribe instead of transliterating the name into hieroglyphs, as in all other instances, translated it into Egyptian and was then so careless as to displace the determinative. Gauthier's theory that  is an error for  is not only attractive but far more probable, and hence Abel's identification with 'Ain Berqit (cf. *Mél. Maspero*, I, 32) has some justification. In this view one could take  for , under the influence of hieratic, as in 73, 75, 111, and 123.  
 68: Simons's reading with a small lacuna between  and  is impossible: the correct reading is clearly   (2)    ; for this grouping cf. 87. 119: Müller gives  at the end instead of . 123: the photograph clearly has , not . 130: at the end Simons gives   instead of   which is clear in the photograph and in Müller's copy. 145: Simons's final  is not to be seen in the photograph or in Müller's copy: it has possibly been inserted through a misunderstanding of Müller's note on this name.

H. W. FAIRMAN.

*La neuvième campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit.* (Printemps, 1937.) By CLAUDE F.-A. SCHAEFFER.

Rapport sommaire suivi d'études sur les textes et inscriptions par R. DUSSAUD, CH. VIROLLEAUD, E. DHORME, A. GUÉRINOT.—Extrait de la Revue *Syria*, 1938. 124 pp., 15 plates, 51 figs. Paris, 1938. 125 francs.

*Ugaritica. Études relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra.* By CLAUDE F.-A. SCHAEFFER. Première série.

Mission de Ras Shamra, T. III. Haut Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, Bibl. Arch. & Hist. T. XXXI. Paris, 1939. viii+327 pp., 32 plates, 123 figs. 200 francs.

Excavations have been in progress on the Tell of Ras Shamra, the site of Ugarit, and at Minet el Beida, its ancient sea-port, since 1929, under the direction of M. Claude F.-A. Schaeffer. Situated near Lattakieh in the coastal region of Syria where during the Bronze Age so many civilizations met and influenced one another in turn—the Babylonian, Hurrian, Cretan, Cypriote, Mycenaean, and, not least, the Egyptian—Ras Shamra has proved to be a site of exceptional importance. M. Schaeffer deserves all praise for having published the results of each season without loss of time by means of the detailed and fully illustrated reports which have been appearing year by year in *Syria*.

During the ninth season (March–June 1937) excavations were carried out in two separate areas: first at the north-eastern side of the Tell (*Syria*, 1938, 193–255) among houses and in burial chambers (Tombs xxxvi and liii–lvii) rich in bronze objects and pottery of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, and afterwards at the north-western edge (*ibid.*, pp. 313 ff.) in a complex of sixteenth- or fifteenth-century buildings, reconstructed after a fire in the fourteenth century B.C., which included an important *Résidence*, with an elaborate drainage-system, and a house with a corbelled burial-chamber (Tomb I) underneath it; a somewhat more ancient sanctuary near by contained an interesting collection of objects. A beginning was made (pp. 323 ff.) in exploring the place of sacrifice on the summit of the neighbouring Mount Casius (Jebel Akra) where a stratified ash-heap, eight metres high, was found to contain Roman and Greek coins in the first two metres. Below the summit a small clearance was made on the site of the late-fifth-century Monastery of St. Barlaam. From the same volume of *Syria* come articles by MM. Dussaud, Virolleaud, and Dhorme dealing with a number of cuneiform texts, and one by M. A. Guérinot on the phonetics of the Semitic ('Proto-Phoenician') language of Ugarit and the cuneiform alphabet which is one of the most important of the discoveries made in these excavations.

M. Schaeffer has now found time to publish a sumptuous volume, the first of a series entitled *Ugaritica* and designed to contain the definitive record of the excavations. Of the four chapters of *Ugaritica*, I, the first consists of an historical outline, the second gives an account of the connexions of Ugarit with the Aegean world, the third and fourth describe, respectively, a ceremonial battle-axe, from a stratum earlier than about 1365 B.C., and two figurines of copper, plated with white gold (electrum), dating from the nineteenth to seventeenth centuries, all of them being finds of the ninth season. A Mitannian origin is assigned to the battle-axe, which is of copper, adorned with gold damascening and with the figure of a boar, and having open-mouthed lion-heads moulded onto an iron blade—perhaps the earliest known instance of the use of

iron. The figurines likewise are to be regarded as examples of Hurrian workmanship, which is one of the factors that can be traced in the composite art of northern Syria. So much has been written about these excavations, especially with reference to the epigraphical discoveries, that it has been possible to compile a list of something over 500 works—reports, commentaries and reviews—dealing directly with Ugarit. An index to the whole of this material is appended, a marvel of industry, in which each work is cited by its number in the list (where *Ugaritica*, I, appears as no. 21).

Nine seasons have proved sufficient for the partial clearance only of the upper levels; the lower depths have been merely explored by soundings, sometimes to a depth of 18 metres. M. Schaeffer estimates that seven-eighths of the site remain to be excavated, and this may be the reason for his having chosen to sketch the history of Ugarit in general terms rather than to give an account of his discoveries layer by layer. As he observes, the conclusions now reached are subject to revision as new facts come to light. Even as it is, the site has proved so rich in finds that many of the interesting points which the author touches on must perforce be passed over in this review.

The records of the expedition are based on a division of the Tell into five levels (*niveaux*). This term, however, is used not, as one might expect, of occupation-levels, but of periods; thus, Level I, which covers the Late Bronze Age, is severed by traces of a conflagration in the fourteenth century, while some buildings of the Middle Bronze Age, Level II, seem to have lasted into the later period. The soundings have proved that Level III contains some pottery of the fourth millennium; painted eggshell-ware, of the Tell Halaf type, has been found in Level IV. The lowest level, with underlying strata which contain no pottery, is assigned to the neolithic period; in this connexion M. Schaeffer confidently asserts the existence of a true neolithic industry in Syria, against the opinion (recently reaffirmed by Père Vincent with particular reference to Jericho (*Revue Biblique*, 1938, 561; 1939, 91) that the chalcolithic follows immediately upon the mesolithic culture, to the exclusion of the neolithic in the strict sense of that term.

Until the last centuries of the third millennium Ugarit, in common with other North Syrian towns, was dominated by the influence of Mesopotamia; the upper layers of Level III are thought to attest a period of impoverishment following on the fall of the dynasty of Akkad and perhaps marked by the incoming of the Canaanite element which eventually formed the bulk of the population. With Level II we get a clearer view of history, including evidence of close intercourse with Egypt under Dyn. XII. In M. Schaeffer's narrative (*Ugaritica*, I, 16 ff.) the sections dealing with the Egyptian finds are preceded by references to the history of Ugarit during the course of the First Babylonian Dynasty. This is, in all probability, an inversion of the true sequence of events, as it is now becoming clear that the date of Hammurabi must be brought down from the twentieth century (or earlier, according to some systems of computation) to the second half of the nineteenth century, if not further still. This conclusion, which is of great importance for the chronology of the Near East, is accepted by M. Schaeffer and is supported, as he observes, by the stratification of Level II. The monuments of the Middle Kingdom are numerous, including a statue of Khnumit, wife of Senusert II and perhaps a Syrian princess, sphinxes of Amenemhat III, and the stela of an official, Senusert-Ankh, who appears to have been an envoy at the court of the native ruler. The figures, but not the inscriptions, have been mutilated, presumably by people hostile to Egypt and ignorant of the significance of the texts; these are identified with the Hurrian element in the population, becoming predominant with the rise of the kingdom of Mitanni.

It is thought likely that there was also a Cretan settlement at Ugarit. Pottery of the Middle Minoan period has been found in several tombs and buildings of Level II and poses a problem of chronology (pp. 54 ff.). A painted fragment, assigned by Sir Arthur Evans to MM II a (c. 2000–1875 B.C.), was found in association with Syrian pottery apparently of later date, while in Tomb lvii (one of those cleared in the ninth season) together with Hyksos pottery and scarabs which suggest that none of the burials was earlier than the eighteenth century, there were three vases paralleled in the tomb discovered by Professor Garstang at Abydos. M. Schaeffer feels that the evidence from Ugarit conflicts with the conclusions drawn from the Egyptian sites—the Haraga and Kahun (Lahun) rubbish-heaps and the Abydos tomb—which form a basis for the dating of MM II pottery. He is therefore led to reconsider the Egyptian evidence in detail and to propose a later date (Dyn. XIII) for MM II; but the opposing case has been very cogently stated by Mr. Pendlebury in his *Archaeology of Crete* (1939), 144 ff., and must hold the field at all events until the strata containing the Dyn. XII statues have been fully explored.

The family burial-chambers of Ugarit are of remarkable interest, both as regards their construction and the objects found in them. They fall into two groups, though there seems to be a transitional stage represented by Tomb liii. Some of the earlier group, described and illustrated in the report of the ninth season,



are assigned to the eighteenth century B.C., continuing in use for several centuries; the development of the later type (containing pottery of the thirteenth century) is discussed in *Ugaritica*, I, 72 ff. All these tombs have certain features in common: they are stone buildings, rectangular in plan, with walls that converge towards the roof, and they have short stone-covered *dromoi* with steps leading into them. In the later group corbelled masonry takes the place of rough stone, the *dromos* is somewhat longer, and the doorway is in the centre of one of the end walls instead of being at a corner of the chamber; novel features are niches in the walls and window-like openings which may have been intended to admit libations by means of shafts from above. A similar window is found in the 'Royal Tomb' at Isopata, in Crete, and there can be no doubt that the architecture of the later tombs owes something to Aegean influences. But the point to be observed about these chambers is that they were adapted for burials underneath the floors of houses in accordance with a purely oriental custom (examples which occur to one are Tepe Hissar, in Persia, and Ur under the Elamite dynasty of Larsa). The chamber-tomb at Til Barsip is adduced as a parallel to the early group at Ugarit, but apparently the excavator, M. Dunand, is not convinced of the connexion between the tomb and the house above it, probable though it appears. The Middle Bronze Age burial-chambers of Megiddo might appropriately have been cited, as also the fact that in Palestine the custom of burial under houses became prevalent in the 'Hyksos' period and did not outlast it.

Intercourse with the Aegean world was interrupted by the Hurrian domination, but with the return of Egyptian supremacy under Dyn. XVIII there came an influx first of Cypriote and later of Mycenaean wares, and it is possible that Ugarit became in effect a Mycenaean colony. The art of this era is well represented by a gold bowl and platter which, though found near the surface, are assigned to the fifteenth to fourteenth century (*Ugaritica*, I, 33, figs. 25, 26). This dating is confirmed by a comparison with the basalt panel found at Beth-shan (Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-shan*, p. 16 and frontispiece) at Level IX—period of Dyn. XVIII—in which it has been, quite unjustifiably, regarded as intrusive by some authorities; the lions depicted on the panel and on the bowl are astonishingly alike—as Professor Albright has perceived—more especially in such features as the star on the shoulder of each, the four lines on the body to represent the ribs, and the treatment of the mane.

No traces of Hittite domination during the Tell-el-Amarna period have as yet been discovered; the conflagration which took place at about that time may, it is thought, have been occasioned by an earthquake. Under Dyn. XIX Ugarit enjoyed a further period of prosperity, which lasted till about 1200 B.C. when the invading Peoples of the Sea brought the long and brilliant history of Ugarit to a close.

G. M. FITZGERALD.

*Festschrift Paul Koschaker zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von seinen Fachgenossen.* 3 vols. (pp. xvi+408; vi+410; viii+452). Weimar, 1939. RM. 24.

These volumes, in spite of certain features which would make one prefer to forget them, contain matter which calls for notice in the interests of scholarship. It is only necessary to draw attention to the few articles in vol. III which treat of topics affecting Egypt.

Though preoccupied with a decidedly provincial question of *Dogmatik*, G. Simonétos (*Das Verhältnis von Kauf und Übereignung im altgriechischen Recht*, III, 172–98) makes a real contribution to our knowledge of the Greek law of sale, his interpretations of the basic text, namely the fragment of Theophrastus preserved by Stobaeus, being remarkable for their refreshing common sense. Theophrastus distinguishes two moments in sale: (a) when the *ὥνῃ καὶ πρᾶσις* has become *κυρία εἰς τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πωλεῖν*, and (b) when it has become *κυρία εἰς τὴν κτήσιν*. The former is reached when the buyer has given *arra*, and the latter when he has paid the price (and, in the case of land, has also observed the formalities required by law). Although the author himself is chiefly interested in the fact that at the second moment property passed to the buyer on payment of the price, independently of any *traditio*, his treatment of the first moment is what interested us most. The amount of the *arra* was in some Greek cities fixed by law, in others left to be agreed; it might on occasion be trifling, e.g. a ring, in which case its effect could be only confirmatory, but in general the effects of *arra* having been given were also (a good point) penal. *Arra* made the contract *κυρία εἰς τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πωλεῖν*, but the consequences of this were not necessarily the same as those of an *emptio venditio* becoming *perfecta*. In general non-performance of the contract entailed penalties, which for the buyer consisted in forfeiture of the *arra* paid: quite as good a remedy, provided that the *arra* was sufficient, as an *actio venditi* for unliquidated damages. This seems to be clearly stated by Theophrastus, though Simonétos does not advert to it, probably because it is obvious. The penalties on the seller are less clear;

in fact they were not the same in all city laws. The curious feature of Theophrastus's account is that the buyer's breach of contract is assumed to consist in refusing to accept the price. Though he does not mention this point, its explanation is given by Simonétos: it is that it was by payment of the price that the buyer obtained property in the thing bought; failure to deliver would be a far less substantial breach. What penalty the seller incurred by thus preventing the buyer from becoming owner is, as we have said, not very clear, the passage of Theophrastus being probably corrupt. The obvious penalty, that of the Egyptian papyri and of the later Roman law, would be payment to the buyer of double his *arra*. But Theophrastus seems to say that in the Thurian law, at least, he forfeited the whole price: presumably this means that, if he refused to accept it, he was treated as if he had had it. But the passage is obscure, and Arangio-Ruiz's notes on it (in his, the latest, edition of the text as an appendix to his and A. Olivieri's *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertinentes*, pp. 247-9) are well worth considering. It was outside Simonétos's main theme to do so, but he has some interesting lines about Theophrastus's next remark, that some laws gave an action (*δίκη*) against a seller who refused to accept the price. As observed already, this peculiar form of breach confirms Simonétos's thesis as to the passing of property on payment of the price, irrespective of any *traditio*. The passing of property in land depended also on further conditions; of the five systems of publicity mentioned by Theophrastus the most interesting is that preferred by him, *ἀναγραφή*. There are (pp. 184-91) some very sensible reflections on this controversial institution. Finally the question is raised whether Theophrastus, when he says that the purchase should not be from a drunken man and so forth, since sales should be *ἐκ προαιρέσεως*, is reporting with approval the general effect of actual Greek laws or is propounding Aristotelian doctrine as *lex ferenda*.

N. J. Pantazopoulos (*Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Diaitesie im altgriechischen Recht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des attischen Rechts*, III, 199-223), without expressly referring to the parallel, draws a picture of the development of Attic procedure in private cases closely resembling that which, rightly or wrongly, has become accepted as representing the Roman evolution. From a primitive stage of self-help we pass through that of voluntary submission to arbitration to that of compulsory decision by State Courts. In classical Athens we find a division of functions between *archons* and *diaetae* closely resembling that between *praetor* and *iudex* at Rome. But the possibility of appeal to the Heliaea is an equally remarkable difference. This system was developed out of a practice of voluntary submission to arbitration—an evolution which is general in the Greek world. At Athens there continued to exist, by the side of the public *διατριβή*, a usage of the older private *διατριβή*, just as at Rome beside the action there was *compromissum*. The article, which is well written, raises a number of controversial points on which I am not qualified to express an opinion.

W. Erdmann (*Zum γάμος ἄγραφος der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, III, 224-40) advances a vigorous and well-reasoned argument for the view that *γάμος ἄγραφος* is pure concubinage and not an inferior or trial marriage.

W. Hellebrand (*Arbeitsrechtliches in den Zenon-Papyri*, III, 241-63) makes a gallant attempt to organize an intractable mass of material under general conceptions. Only a specialist could say how far he is successful.

E. Berneker (*Zur Rechtskraft im ptolemäischen Prozessrecht*, III, 268-80) analyses in detail the course of proceedings in the papyrus published by Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut* (Oxford, 1934), from which he draws the conclusion that in Ptolemaic times the judgement of a native Court in a private suit had not the full force of *res iudicata* except if confirmed by deed of renunciation of claim, which deed bound only the parties to it. This native principle may have influenced the Greek Ptolemaic law in certain cases—there are similarities in Attic law which would facilitate fusion—but did not apply to the judgements of the Greek collegiate Courts.

F. DE ZULUETA.

*Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. VI. Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (excluding Thebes).* By BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND L. B. MOSS. Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1939. 4to. xix + 264 pp., numerous plans. 35s.

The indefatigable industry of the authors of this invaluable Bibliography has now enabled them to complete their sixth volume, which deals with the temples excluded from vol. v, namely Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae. Not only is the work fully up to the very high standard set by its predecessors, but the numerous and excellent plans accompanying the letter-press should enable the researcher to trace the publication of any scene or inscription. It is true that at first sight some of the plans appear to be overcrowded

with letters and figures, but this was unavoidable if they were to fulfil their function properly. Appended to the text are indexes of Kings, Private Persons, Gods, and Various, of which that of Gods is particularly interesting, since it names a number of obscure divinities not often met. As with its older companions, this volume offers practically no scope to the adverse critic. It might perhaps be pointed out that in the key-plan to the Abydos Temples, taken from Winlock's *Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, the entrance to the Sarcophagus Chamber of the Osireion is not shown, and one might also suggest that *dj* is a better conventional transcription of 𓄎 than the *z* actually employed, but these are minor points indeed. The proof-reading, no light task with a letter-press of this kind, seems to have been admirable, and the authors are to be congratulated on the result of their labours. It is to be hoped that, despite our present troubles, they will be able to complete the series.

R. O. FAULKNER.

*Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Ägyptischen Dynastie (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertums-kunde Ägyptens, Band XIV).* By HANS-WOLFGANG HELCK. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939. 87 pp.

The Eighteenth Dynasty is sharply distinguished from all preceding periods of Egyptian history by the fact that, as a result of the warlike spirit evoked by the struggle to expel the Hyksos, Egypt for the first time became a first-class military power with far-reaching designs of conquest. In order to further these aims, it was necessary to maintain a considerable standing army with its attendant organization, with the result that the military became of far greater influence in the state than heretofore. It is the purpose of Herr Helck's book to trace the growth of this influence and its results, and in the course of this task he discusses many matters of interest in connexion with the Egyptian army and its organization.

In the military hierarchy the author makes a sharp distinction between the administrative side, staffed by officials who did not command in the field (*Militärbeamten*), and the executive or combatant side (*Frontoffiziere*). Of these two the former carried the higher rank, being virtually part of the Civil Service, and as a typical example of this class he quotes the career of Amenhotpe, son of Hapu. The grades of administrative officials, who may, at least in part, be compared with the civilian staff of a modern War Office, consisted of (1) 'clerk of the army' (*sš mšꜥ*) who either worked in an office at home or was seconded to a serving regiment to act as accountant; (2) 'chief clerk of the army' (*imy-r sš mšꜥ*), who when on active service had to compile reports and keep the daily log of the campaign; (3) 'clerk of recruits' (*sš nfrw*), an important official who not only had charge of the conscription and allotted recruits to various garrisons for training, but was occasionally put in charge of the public works for which the army often had to supply the necessary labour; and (4) 'general' (*imy-r mšꜥ*), on whom lay the responsibility for such matters as the movements of troops, their equipment and rationing, the maintenance of their full complement, and the execution of public works, but who did not normally command in the field. Military officials of high rank on retirement were pensioned off with soft jobs such as stewardship of one of the estates of the king or of a royal personage, posts which were doubtless lucrative but which carried little political influence. The supreme command in the field was vested in the king, who, however, often delegated his powers as commander-in-chief (*imy-r mšꜥ wr*) to the Crown Prince; only in minor undertakings was a subject temporarily given this rank. After the death of Akhenaton, when there was no Crown Prince, this all-important post came into the hands of Haremhab.

The combatant officers commenced their careers as ordinary 'soldiers' (*wꜥw*). Thence they passed to the position of 'standard-bearer' (*ḥry sryt*) or commander of a company (*sꜥ*) of 200 men, and ended as a 'troop-commander' (*ḥry pꜣt*); the corresponding naval ranks were 'standard-bearer' of such or such a ship and 'commander of sailors'. From such officers the king chose his military entourage, especially his weapon-bearer. The chariotry formed a *corps d'élite*; their serving ranks were 'charioteer' (*kꜥn*) and 'fighter' (*sn*). As with the official side, ex-officers were pensioned off with a grant of land or with a civil post; in some cases they were appointed to the personal entourage of the king or to administrative posts of real importance. As such appointments depended entirely upon the royal favour, the loyalty of their holders was assured, and they served as a check on the greed for power of the bureaucracy; thus the soldiers got that foot-hold which enabled them eventually to become the most powerful party in the state. As might be expected, ex-officers were employed in the army and police administrations, but they were also occasionally made 'High Steward' (*imy-r pr wr*) of the king. This official, who originally was concerned with the supervision of all the king's estates and their attendant industries, gradually increased in influence till he became a kind of personal deputy of the king; in fact the steady accumulation of power in the hands of the High

Steward became such a serious source of friction that Amenophis III removed his headquarters from Thebes to Memphis to get him out of the way. When it is recalled that Haremhab, during the reign of Tut'ankhamūn, was not only Commander-in-Chief but High Steward as well, it is obvious that the military party had by then completely gathered up the reins of power.

When on occasion the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty needed nurses for their children, they preferred not to give such obviously influential posts to members of the Upper Ten, but took these personal attendants from the lesser ranks. Occasionally the wives of officers were so chosen, their husbands becoming tutors to the royal children, and persons thus appointed naturally wielded much influence at Court. Such was the case of Eye and his wife. She was the 'great nurse' of Queen Nofretete, while he was promoted from troop-commander to Controller of Horse, later entering the priesthood as 'divine father'. His personal relations with the royal family obviously destined him for an important part in the confusion which followed the death of Akhenaton. According to Helck, the course of events was somewhat as follows. When Akhenaton broke with the priesthood of Amūn he likewise broke with the semi-hereditary state officials who supported the ancient cults, choosing for his ministers men who had not been brought up in the traditions of the bureaucracy and whose one essential qualification was that they should be adherents of the new faith. Many of them were soldiers, since the king could not expect to hold his own against the enemies he had made without the support of the army, which thus became the main prop of his power. Eye was apparently the leader of the military party, whose main motive in supporting Akhenaton's reformation seems to have been not enthusiasm for the new religion but a desire to break the power of the Civil Service, since after the king's death they lost no time in returning to the worship of the old gods. When Akhenaton died, dissension broke out in the royal family. The new king Smenkhkarē, influenced or controlled by Eye, began the reaction against Atenism, and quarrelled with Nofretete, who presumably wished to maintain the reformation which her husband had instituted, and who, as Helck believes, may have been the queen who asked the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma for his son in marriage. After the disappearance of Smenkhkarē, Eye raised the young Tut'ankhamūn to the throne, and himself remaining in the background, appointed the commander-in-chief Haremhab to be High Steward and Regent of the king. Haremhab lost these powers when Eye assumed the crown on the death of Tut'ankhamūn, but used his late office as Regent as justification for his action when he in turn usurped the throne and established what was virtually a military dictatorship. Being himself without a son, he appointed as his successor and Vizier another soldier, Paramesse, who in due course reigned as Ramesses I and founded the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The above condensed précis of the author's thesis does not touch upon the many interesting side-issues he raises, such as recruiting, frontier protection, and police organization, into which there is not sufficient space to go here. While further investigation may prove this or that detail to be incorrect, and perhaps not all will agree with his reconstruction of the fall of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is difficult to controvert the main lines of his argument; the author's view that the later kings of the dynasty used the soldiers as a check on the overweening lust for power of the bureaucracy, and that Akhenaton's revolution, engineered probably as much for political as for religious reasons, had the support of the armed forces against the reactionary officials, is at least consonant with the facts of history as we know them, and affords a satisfactory explanation of the seizure of power by the military on the failure of the royal line.

A slip of the pen has been detected on p. 27, where the title *wr n mḏw* has been translated as 'chief of Beduin' instead of 'chief of police'; there are also a few misprints. These are, however, but minor blemishes, and Herr Helck is to be congratulated on having produced a book which no future student of the political or military history of Ancient Egypt will be able to afford to ignore.

R. O. FAULKNER.



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
































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












































*inn*, 'except, but' (Černý), 25.  
*inn*, 'if' (Gardiner), 25.  
*bn* . . . *bn*, 'either' . . . 'or' (Gardiner), 25.  
*mḏ*, (1) 'basket for dates'; (2) 'profit', Copt. *maḏe*, Gr. μάτιον (Gardiner), 157-8; see also *mḏt*, § B.  
*n* . . . *n*, var. *nz* . . . *nz*, 'whether' . . . 'or' (Gardiner), 25.  
*nmḥt n pṛ tṛ n Pr-ḳ*, 'freewoman of the land of Pharaoh' (Gardiner), 25; see also *nmḥ*, § B.  
*nk*, 'copulate', in cursives (Gardiner), 25.  
*rwḏw*, 'guardian', 'trustee' (Gardiner), 26, n. 2.

*ḥwt*, 'temple': *tṛ ḥwt* + royal name used for temples founded by king; *tṛ ḥwt* 'the temple' used alone as abbreviation for name of temple of Medinet Habu (Černý), 127 ff.  
*hry-wḏb*, 'tally-keeper' (Wainwright), 32, n. 15.  
*ḥty*, 'notch' the years of the king's life on the palmstick (Wainwright), 32.  
*m-sṛ*, 'pestering' (Dakin), 159.  
*r-sṛ dwṣw*, 'thereafter' (Gardiner), 24.  
*šmsw*, 'retainers' of Sherden race (Gardiner), 25.  
*ṯw-sryt*, 'standard-bearers' of Sherden race (Gardiner), 25.

### II. HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC GROUPS AND SIGNS

(arranged alphabetically)

         masc. pers. n. (Černý), 129.  
         masc. pers. n. (Černý), 129.  
         masc. pers. n. (Černý), 129.  
 at beginning of Late-Egn. words to be read usually as *m* but occasionally as *mḥ* (Gardiner), 157 f.  
 *nh*-bird = Sennār Guinea-fowl (Davies), 79 ff.  
  written for   (Smither), 25.

         abbreviated name of temple of Medinet Habu (Černý), 127 ff.  
         probably a shortening of the name of Hathōr (Gardiner), 25.  
         written for Hathōr (Smither), 25.  
         in P. Wilbour represents 'Sherden' rather than 'Shasu' (Gardiner), 24.  
         fem. pers. n. (Smither), 25.

### B. DEMOTIC

*šyw*, 'flax (?)' (Parker), 95.  
*šntw*, 'handles (?)' (Parker), 93.  
*ncšm*, 'grind (?)' grain (Parker), 100.  
*nwtš*, 'substitution (?)' (Parker), 99.  
*'n-mt*, 'dead man' (Thompson), 76.  
*'hy*, *'hyt*, 'spirit, ghost', male or female (Thompson), 76.  
*šhy*, 'hang, suspend (?)' (Parker), 95.  
*šhr*, 'marsh (?)' (Parker), 106.  
*šsy* . . . ., obscure word (Thompson), 77.  
*šth*, 'draw' water (Parker), 91.  
*šw-ir-k*, Second Present (Parker), 91, 105.  
*šw-ir-(t)*, Second Future (Parker), 104.  
*špt*, 'product' of work (Parker), 92; 'occupation' (Parker), 93.  
*šn-nḥ*, 'go, be about to, intend' (Parker), 90.  
*šr*, 'cultivate, tend' (Parker), 96.  
*šrt*, 'bud, blossom' or sim., lit. 'eye' (Parker), 95, 107.

*yḥm*, 'winepress' (Parker), 108.  
*ḥm*, 'clay' (Parker), 109.  
*ḥr(r)*, 'inundation (?)' (Parker), 91.  
*š m-sṛ-t n nwy*, 'claim against you regarding these things' (Parker), 104.  
*št*, 'trader (?)' (Parker), 110.  
*wmhḥw* (?), obscure word (Parker), 111.  
*wry*, 'monster (?)' (Thompson), 77.  
*wšyp*, obscure word (Parker), 99.  
*wṯ*, 'select' (Parker), 107.  
*wṯbw*, obscure word (Parker), 107.  
*wdb*, 'be altered, suffer change'; *dj wdb*, 'alter a thing' (Thompson), 73.  
*byr*, 'basket' (Parker), 93, 108.  
*bytt*, 'palm-leaf (?)' (Parker), 94.  
*b[r]h*, 'pack-animal (?)' (Parker), 109.  
*bl*, preposition, in expression *lr bl* 'escape' (Parker), 107.  
*blbyt*, 'grape' (Parker), 107.

- bbl*, 'probe' (Parker), 95.  
*bk*, fem. *bkt*, 'slave, servant' (Thompson), 71, 73 f.  
*bts*, obscure word, perhaps derived from Gk. *βάτος* (Edgerton), 105.  
*pyf*, writing of, in Roman times (Parker), 90.  
*pnk*, 'transfer (?)' (Parker), 109.  
*ph*, 'bruise (?)' fruit (Parker), 108.  
*lms*, 'a kind of wine (?)' (Parker), 111.  
*lqwt*, obscure word, perhaps Gk. (Parker), 101.  
*t: mryt n p: Itm*, 'The Island of the Atūm' (Parker), 94.  
*mr*, 'gird' (Parker), 105.  
*mr-ih*, 'shepherd' (Parker), 107.  
*mte*, *mtw*-, conjunctive, in hortative use (Thompson), 71; introducing apodosis of conditional sentences (Parker), 91; after *ir-fhpr* (Parker), 99.  
*md:t*, a measure of capacity. Copt. *ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲩⲉ*, Gk. *μάτρον* (Parker), 99; see also *md:t*, § A.  
*n*, introducing a condition, probably not Copt. *ene: an* (Parker), 101.  
*na* (*n:j*), 'those belonging to', in royal protocol (Thompson), 70.  
*nyry*, obscure word (Parker), 103.  
*n*, formative element of First and Second Future (Parker), 99.  
*nwy*, 'spear' (Parker), 106.  
*nuch*, 'plait' (n.) (Parker), 93; *nuch n r*, 'rim-cords (?)' of basket (Parker), 93.  
*nb*, 'dyke (?)' (Parker), 91.  
*nbst* (?), obscure word (Parker), 107.  
*nbcr*, obscure word connected with water (Parker), 110.  
*nmh*, 'free, freeman' (Thompson), 74 ff.; see also *nmht*, § A.  
*ryt*, 'quarter' of town (Parker), 103.  
*rm* 'mut', 'man of Amente' (Thompson), 77.  
*rm e-f sdr*, 'sleeping man' (Thompson), 77.  
*rm p ycr*, 'man of the river', probably a water-spirit (Thompson), 78.  
*rm p qd*, something malignant (Thompson), 77.  
*rm nmh*, 'freeman' (Thompson), 75.  
*rm sn-ntr* (?), 'diviner (?)' (Thompson), 78.  
*rhwt*, 'leather apron (?)' (Parker), 105.  
*rth*, 'artaba', writing of (Parker), 100.  
*hky*, 'crack, crunch (?)' (Parker), 106.  
*hn* in demot. always a measure of honey or wine (Parker), 91.  
*r hst n*, 'at the beginning of (?)' (Parker), 91.  
*hyrt*, 'dung' (Parker), 109.  
*hyft*, 'hyena' (Parker), 106.  
*hblcs*, perhaps some sort of money or valuable (Parker), 104.  
*hm*, in expression *ir hm* 'guide (?)' (Parker), 98.  
*hmr*, obscure word (Thompson), 78.  
*hms*, 'incubus (?)' (Thompson), 78.  
*a-hry*, 'as my debt (?)' (Thompson), 73.  
*hrwt*, 'vat' (Parker), 108.  
*hs*, 'singer (?)' (Parker), 105.  
*hsy*, 'drowned man' (Thompson), 78.  
*hst*, obscure word (Parker), 108.  
*htp*, 'join, joint', vb. and n. (Parker), 93.  
*hql*, 'robber' (Parker), 110.  
*hql*, in expression *dy hql* 'transport, ferry' (Parker), 110.  
*hqlt*, 'wagon (?)' (Parker), 110.  
*hqtwl*, 'ichneumon' (Parker), 106.  
*hqd*, obscure word (Parker), 103.  
*hl*, obscure word (Parker), 98.  
*hl-ct*, 'old woman' (Parker), 102.  
*hm-hl*, 'boy' (Thompson), 73.  
*hrhry*, 'destruction (?)' (Parker), 110.  
*h-nmh*, 'born free' (Thompson), 76.  
*hr-hwt*, 'young man' (Thompson), 73.  
*hr-shmt*, 'young woman' (Thompson), 73.  
*ht*, 'contents' (Parker), 90.  
*syr*, obscure word (Parker), 98.  
*scr* (?), 'scatter (?)' (Parker), 100.  
*sw*, 'wheat' (Parker), 97.  
*swn*, 'value' (Parker), 103.  
*suf*, 'connect, join (?)' (Parker), 91.  
*sbrj*, obscure word (Parker), 106.  
*sft*, 'sword', usually written *sft* (Parker), 106.  
*sft*, obscure word connected with water (Parker), 110.  
*smn*, 'agree' (Parker), 99.  
*smh*, 'bunch' of grapes (Parker), 96.  
*srf*, 'pacify' (Parker), 109, 110.  
*sh* (or *sh*), obscure word (Parker), 105.  
*shm*, 'pound' grain (Parker), 100.  
*shn*, 'agreement, contract' (Parker), 90.  
*shr*, obscure word (Parker), 99.  
*sh*, obscure word (Parker), 103, 104.  
*ssr*, *ssl*, 'fiend, demon' (Thompson), 78.  
*sdr*, obscure word (Parker), 106.  
*st-s*, 'cutting' (Parker), 93.  
*spy*, possibly technical term indicating that a vine is not barren (Parker), 108.  
*zfsf*, obscure word (Parker), 95.  
*slm*, obscure word (Parker), 108.  
*st r*, 'ask for' (Parker), 92.  
*ss htp*, 'twist and splice' (Parker), 92.  
*skr*, 'rent' (Thompson), 71.  
*sttw*, 'fibres (?)' (Parker), 94.  
*sdy*, obscure word (Parker), 106.  
*knsf*, obscure word (Parker), 110.  
*krkr*, 'talent (?)' (Parker), 100.  
*kt*, obscure word (Parker), 103, 105.  
*kd*, 'obol' (Parker), 96.  
*km*, 'gardener'; *ir km*, 'be a gardener' (Parker), 90.  
*gsg*, 'a kind of loaf' (Parker), 98.  
*gtp*, 'dispose of (?)' (Parker), 108.  
*gw*, 'loss' (Parker), 110.  
*gmf*, obscure word (Parker), 110.  
*gst*, obscure word (Parker), 103.  
*gdmr*, 'handful (?)' (Parker), 99.  
*tp*, 'stitch' (Parker), 93.  
*tkm*, 'a tree or shrub', Egn. *dgm* (Parker), 109.  
*tr*, 'wear' a garment (Parker), 105.  
*trw* (?) - *rut*, 'pestilence (?)' (Thompson), 78.  
*tr-sft*, obscure word (Parker), 93.  
*dsry*, 'red thing' as something evil (Thompson), 78.  
*dy hql*, 'transport, ferry' (Parker), 110.  
*dqt*, 'gather' fruit (Parker), 108.  
*dw*, 'thief' (Parker), 110.  
*dwt*, 'infamous (?)' (Parker), 102.  
*dnt*, 'proper measure, mean' (Parker), 91.  
*dhv*, obscure word (Parker), 111.  
*dhm*, 'earth (?)' (Parker), 93.  
*dd*, introducing direct speech after *dd* foll. by pleonastic suffix (Parker), 94; 'namely' (Parker), 102.

## C. COPTIC

ε-, 'for' introducing second object (Parker), 92.  
**ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲭⲉ**, 'handle' (Parker), 93.  
**ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲭⲉ**, 'measure of capacity', Gk. *μάτιον*, from  
 Egn. *mḏi* (Gardiner), 158; see also *mḏi*, § B.  
 ϣο, 'strand, ply of cord' (Parker), 93.  
 ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲥⲟⲛ, 'at the moment in question' (Gardiner),  
 159.  
 ⲫⲛⲟⲓⲛⲟⲓ, 'go forward, progress, go about' (All-  
 berry), 160.  
 ⲫⲟⲓⲛⲟⲓ, 'seek' (Allberry), 160.

ⲱⲛⲓⲱ, 'open spring or well of water', Bushmūric  
 word (Crum), 156.  
 ⲱⲛⲓⲱ, corruption of ⲱⲛⲓⲱ (Crum), 156.  
 ⲱⲁⲟⲱⲗ, ⲱⲁⲟⲱⲗ, 'ichneumon', var. ⲉⲁⲟⲱⲗ  
 (Parker), 106.  
 ⲉⲁⲉⲁⲗ, 'servant' (Thompson), 73.  
 ⲉⲁⲉⲁⲓⲣⲉ, 'youth' (Thompson), 73.  
 ⲉⲁⲟⲱⲗ, see ⲱⲁⲟⲱⲗ.  
 ⲉⲁⲓ, a measure (Edgerton), 99.

## D. GREEK

ἄγριον, corrupt word (Riess), 54.  
 ἀρμαρα, 'a kind of incense' (Riess), 53.  
 ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, 'beginning and end' (Riess), 55.  
 βασιλειον, 'royal power(?)' (Riess), 52; βασιλειον  
 ἀεροειδῆ, an obscure expression (Riess), 52.  
 εἰλωειν = *Elōhīm* (Riess), 55.  
 μάτιον, see *mḏi*, § A and *mḏi*, § B.  
 Μοῖρα, 'Fate' used of Egn. goddess Seshat (Wain-  
 wright), 35, 39.

ουριωρ = Heb. *ʾurīʾōr* 'arise, light' (Riess), 53.  
 ρίζωμα, 'foundation' (Riess), 51.  
 σαβραμ = Heb. *shōbher yam* 'breaker of the sea'  
 (Riess), 54.  
 σεισμός, 'shaking' (Riess), 52.  
 στενὸς τόπος = στενωπός, 'angiportum(?)' (Riess),  
 51.  
 στοιχείων, 'stars' (Riess), 53.  
 φωτοπλήξ, 'who strikes with light' (Riess), 54.

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